No. 1 ● JANUARY 13, 1986 ISSN 0206—1473

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NUCLEAR TESTING CAN BE STOPPED

BEHIND THE SCENES OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS

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INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

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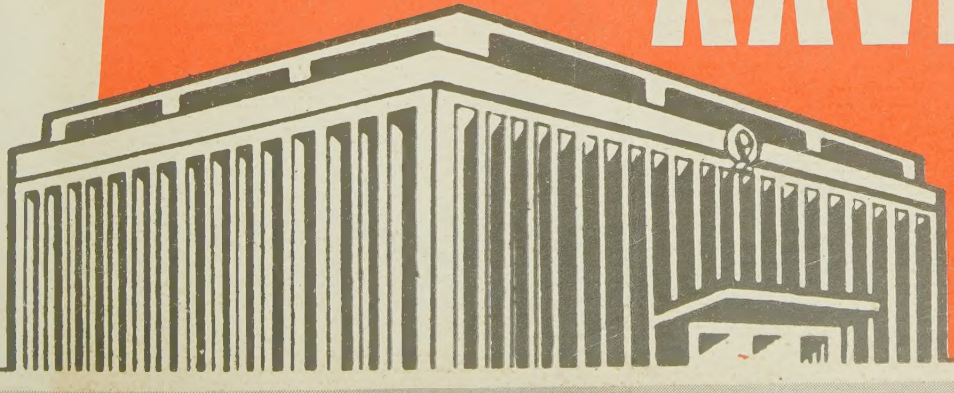

1986-INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

A monument to Lenin opened last autumn stands at the intersection of several thoroughfares in Moscow. In October 1917 the revolutionary genius of this man who combined in himself the qualities of philosopher and political leader rallied the peoples of Russia to overthrow the autocracy and establish the world's first worker and peasant state. A new social system was created. For the first time in the troubled history of mankind, which had known more than 14,000 wars, there appeared the possibility of realizing man's age-old dream of universal peace based on freedom and justice.

"Socialists have always condemned wars between nations as barbarous and brutal," Lenin wrote. Today there is every ground for asserting that his prediction that the working class after winning power would pursue a policy of peace not in word but in deed has come true.

The emergence of the socialist state, the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism exerted a decisive influence on the course of history. The socialist community, the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic mass movements have changed qualitatively the whole system of international relations. Imperialism of course has not renounced aggressive wars and violence. But socialism and all other peace-loving forces have grown so much stronger that imperialism is now obliged to consider peaceful settlement of questions which formerly it would have "resolved" with bombs, tanks and guns.

It would be a mistake, however, to paint too rosy a picture. The threat of a world war still exists. Seats of armed conflicts unleashed by imperialism are still scattered over the face of our troubled planet.

Moscow, Oktyabrsky Square.

Plans for wars, big and small, nuclear and "conventional," are being hatched in the headquarters of imperialist powers. Vast material and intellectual resources so desperately needed by the hungry and the sick, the illiterate and the oppressed, are being spent on their preparation.

In our time it is more important than ever before for all the champions of peace and disarmament to rally their forces. The actions planned for the U.N.-sponsored International Year of Peace, the year that has just begun, will unquestionably serve this end.

True to Lenin's behests, we see our main task in safeguarding peace, strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations, in disarmament, and in implementing our plans to speed the socio-economic progress of our country, plans which are to be endorsed by the coming 27th Congress of the CPSU. As is stated in the draft of the new text of the Party Programme "a world without wars, a world without arms is the socialist ideal."

Photo by Anatoly Garanin

TO LIVE TOGETHER

The New Year brings with it new hopes, it is said. Some sceptics are inclined to see in this the unwarranted ascendency of faith over experience. The optimists, among whom the builders of the new, communist society definitely count themselves, hold that man is the architect of his own destiny. What the world he lives in will be like depends on him alone.

Needless to say, even in our time, when man has reached the Moon, penetrated the secrets of the genetic code, learned to govern the life of plants and to transplant human hearts, the elemental forces of nature and blind chance are capable of causing no few calamities. The earthquake in Mexico, the awakening of the Colombian volcano, the drought in Africa, and devastating hurricanes and floods took a toll of thousands of lives last year.

We grieve for the dead. But the nuclear age has faced humanity with an enemy far more formidable and dangerous than the blind elements—thermonuclear war. Should such a war break out the entire human race would be threatened with destruction. Preventing a global tragedy, not allowing the forces of aggression and militarism to gain the upper hand, is today the crucial task on the solution of which depends the fate of all nations.

Can this objective be achieved? The Soviet Union and its allies maintain that it can. Firmly rebuffing the U.S. policy aimed at upsetting the military strategic balance, the Soviet Union at the same time advances large-scale peace initiatives, displays restraint, and takes a constructive approach to the key problems of peace and security. We made quite plain what we are working for in the world arena and what we are urging the Western powers to do. The course steered by the U.S.S.R. has met with the wholehearted approval of world public opinion. It has been given a high evaluation also by the governments of many countries.

Under the influence of all this the atmosphere in Soviet-American relations and to some extent the behaviour of the U.S. on the world scene began to change somewhat. It is this that opened the way to Geneva. The meeting of the Soviet and U.S. leaders was the high point of last year.

The long-term significance of the useful understandings arrived at in Geneva will of course be revealed only in practical actions. If Washington renounced its plans for the militarization of outer space, which constitute the main obstacle to a radical reduction of nuclear arsenals, the Soviet and U.S. nuclear armouries could be cut by half today, and this, in turn, would pave the way to the total elimination of mass destruction weapons and radical cuts in other types of armaments.

The Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions expires on January 1. However, as the Soviet side has declared, it could be prolonged if the U.S. followed our example. Moscow is thus offering a unique opportunity to close the most important avenue to the further sophistication of engines of nuclear death. Had there been no trials and tests there would have been no Hiroshima, nor would have subsequent generations of nuclear weapons come into being. Putting an end to testing would doom the nuclear arsenals to obsolescence and, eventually, cause them to disappear.

Such decisions of course require political courage, farsightedness, a keen sense of responsibility for the future of the world. It is this sense of responsibility that motivates all of the Soviet Union's actions in the international arena. That Soviet foreign policy is a policy of peace is conclusively manifest in our internal development plans. This is evidenced also by the drafts of the highly important documents to be submitted to the coming 27th Congress of the CPSU, which are now the subject of nationwide discussion. Lastly, our foreign policy is fully consonant with the ideas that prompted the United Nations to proclaim 1986 International Year of Peace.

It is no secret that plans that can in no way be called peaceable are still considered in the West. The inertia of old stereotypes is great. Nevertheless, as Mikhail Gorbachev observed recently when he received Louis Mermaz, President of the French National Assembly, the situation in Europe and the world generally is no longer what it was a few months ago. Hopes for a turn for the better in international affairs are reviving. East-West dialogue, which proved its worth in the seventies, is again getting under way.

Nineteen eighty-six is getting off to a good start. It could become the point of departure for a turn from senseless confrontation to mutually beneficial détente. The nuclear age has faced countries with different social systems with the alternative of either living together or dying together. Obviously the only choice is to live together.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ I am a 14-year-old girl who lives in Vancouver, the "peace capital" of North America. I want all your readers to know that the Soviet people are not the only ones opposed to the insane plans to extend the arms race to outer space, that the peace movement in Canada is working hard against involvement in U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, more commonly known as "star wars."

We want peace! Our politicians tell the people that jobs will be created in "star wars," that it is for defence only, that we owe it to the U.S. under their nuclear umbrella. They talk in dollars and technicalities and what does that leave our generation but ashes? Who wants to inherit an earth destroyed by nuclear winter? Who wants all their dreams and aspirations utterly wiped out in one mindless moment when it will be too late for good-byes, too late for regrets, too late to save humanity?

I look at the sky, at the mountains slumbering softly in the distance, at the trees. I see my future written in the wisps of feathery clouds, hear it in the gentle murmur of the wind. Why are we so intent on destroying this?

What kind of a world have we shaped for those born today? Why do they have to grow up afraid of nuclear war, dreaming about mushroom clouds and their parents dying and the whole earth disintegrated? The best present any of us can give a newborn baby today is a world free from the threat of nuclear war, a world brimming with peace and love.

Some youngsters believe that this is the last generation. Some youngsters don't think they'll ever grow up to be parents or even adults. Is it any wonder, then, that children and teenagers today seem so violent, reckless, headstrong? When the adults have not given us a future at all! We were born feeling fear and desperation.

Why won't the government listen? They don't want to know of the pain we feel. They didn't see me furiously scribbling letter after letter to politicians, pleading, reasoning, arguing; they didn't see me at demonstrations yelling into the empty wind. They tuned us all out with the flick of a TV switch.

And yet somehow we manage to hang on, clawing a last shred of hope and sanity, continuing our work. For our lives, for yours, for the lives of all the future generations to come. Please reach out to us. Let us work together for real peace.

Evelyn LAU
Vancouver, Canada

NEW TIMES

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No. 1, JANUARY 13, 1986

Founded 1943

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For Soviet people 1986 is not just another calendar year. It is above all the year of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party which ushers in a qualitatively new stage in the development of our society. In the sphere of international relations, too, it will be a very special year. The United Nations has proclaimed it International Year of Peace.

A Happy New Year to you all!

Design by A. Garanin
Publisher: Trud, Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech
EDITORIAL OFFICE:
Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R.
Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67 (Information)
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU
Cables: NEW TIMES PUSHKIN SQUARE MOSCOW
Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1986—NO ORDINARY YEAR

VADIM ZAGLADIN

Every individual and every nation expects something of a New Year. The turn of the year engenders hopes of better things to come. There perhaps is not a person anywhere in the world who does not give thought to how the problems left over from the outgoing year should be resolved.

In this respect 1986 is no exception. At the same time it differs from all preceding years. For us Soviet people and for all mankind. Wherein does this difference lie? What are the specific features of 1986?

Perhaps we should begin with our own domestic affairs. For the New Year is sure to bring us much that is new and momentous.

On the other hand, in our day and age, at this time of accelerating internationalization of the economic and in general public life of humanity, the outlook for each people unquestionably depends on the trend of developments in the world arena. And, of course, on how the basic, paramount question at the end of the 20th century—the question of war and peace—will be resolved.

The dialectical interdependence of internal political and international problems is a hallmark of the eve of the 21st century. It is from this that our Leninist Party proceeds in its deliberations and decisions. Taking the realities of the situation into account we say: 1986 should above all be a year of the real strengthening of peace.

I.

The United Nations Organization has proclaimed 1986 the International Year of Peace. This important decision prompted by a deep sense of responsibility is supported by the entire world community.

True, this support is not equally meaningful everywhere. Our country, like most countries of the world, believes that the Year of Peace should be one of practical steps to terminate the arms race; it should mark a turn from confrontation to détente. But there is also another approach. While welcoming the proclamation of 1986 as a Year of Peace, some governments have no intention of renouncing policies pursuing altogether different ends. They do not propose to put an end to the arms race. One cannot help but ask: are they not seeking to use the very idea of a Year of Peace as a mask for a policy of confrontation?

But it is not a New Year's carnival we are entering!

The situation in the international arena is so grave that any attempt to camouflage the growth of the danger of war, or the threat of catastrophe, by pompous rhetoric can only increase that danger. For such attempts are tantamount to deception of people anxious about their future, to misleading them, to dulling their vigilance and thereby lowering the pitch of the anti-war struggle and clearing the way for the continuation of the irresponsible and suicidal arms buildup.

Double think, lip service to peace while accelerating the material preparation of war, has always been odious and has always presented new dangers to the cause of Life. Today it is doubly odious and dangerous.

Nineteen eighty-five left behind great hopes. Hopes that peace will be strengthened and relations between countries and peoples improved. These hopes have come to be called the "spirit of Geneva."

Indeed, at the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan the sides agreed:

—that nuclear war, as well as any other kind of war, between the Soviet Union and the United States must be ruled out. In a nuclear conflict there can be no victors;

—that neither side will seek military superiority. The leaders of the two countries confirmed the agreement of January 8, 1985, in conformity with which the subject of the Geneva talks is to be non-militarization of outer space and reduction of nuclear armaments on Earth;

—that the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has to be made more effective;

—that such a barbarous instrument of mass destruction as chemical weapons should be prohibited and abolished;

—that the sides will help to bring the Stockholm conference to speedy completion. Its final document should include both concrete commitments to refrain from the use of force and mutually acceptable confidence-building measures.

Understandings were also reached as regards the further promotion of contacts between the two countries, including contacts at the highest level.

Some of our Soviet readers might ask: why repeat this all over again? After all, we already know all that.

But repetition is necessary. Primarily because in our opinion the Geneva understandings are not simply the words that went into the joint statement. Of course, such statements are not treaties. Nevertheless, Moscow regards it as a **binding commitment** underwritten by the leaders of the two countries. We see in the Geneva understandings a programme of practical action, including action in 1986. This being the case, they must be repeated, more, translated into practice.

There is also another reason for repeating them. During meetings with visitors from the United States and a number of other Western countries in the final weeks of 1985 we found that many of them did not know exactly what the Soviet Union and the United States agreed upon in Geneva. As a rule, they knew that further meetings were planned. But specifically what was to be done? On what areas did Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan consider it necessary to concentrate efforts? This they did not know.

This was partly due to the way Western information media report events, even events as important as Geneva, especially if they are not to the taste of one or another influential quarter. But even more to blame are precisely these influential quarters, primarily the U.S. military-industrial complex.

Considerable effort was exerted before Geneva to torpedo the Soviet-American summit or at least to make it meaningless. Now, as Mikhail Gorbachev observed during a conversation with Professor Bernard Lown, these quarters have mounted an attack on the outcome of Geneva along various lines and by diverse means.

More money is being channelled to military space programmes in the U.S. under a record military budget. Target satellites intended for testing anti-missile weapons are being launched into orbit. More and more underground nuclear tests are being carried out. Campaigns are mounted against normalization of relations with the U.S.S.R., against the strengthening of mutual trust between our countries. Ever new allocations are earmarked for the purchase of arms for mercenaries on the rampage in Nicaragua and Angola, Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

A few words about these appropriations. U.S. actions in relation to the above-mentioned countries have come to be called "undeclared wars." But would it not be in place to change the designation? After all, if official Washington spokesmen openly call for changes in the regimes of a number of countries and Congress openly allocates hundreds of millions of dollars for this purpose can these wars be described as "undeclared"? They are instances of direct aggression. That is how they are regarded by all sober-minded people.

But let us return to the subject of Geneva. The "spirit of Geneva" is the legacy 1985 left to the year just ushered in. The transatlantic hawks, however, are clearly preparing their own present to the newborn year. They are bent on turning the Year of Peace into a year of the continuation and intensification of confrontation. Geneva is for

them, if not a bad word, then something to be forgotten.

From the very beginning it was clear that realization of the Geneva understandings would require of both sides no little effort, a fresh approach to many things, and, above all, the political will to work in this direction on the part of the leaders of both countries. The Soviet Union demonstrated that will in the year now past by undertaking unilateral actions requiring courage, determination and awareness of the realities of the present-day world in order to open the way to a peaceful future. The most important of these steps was the unilateral termination of all nuclear explosions as of August 6, 1985. Our country thereby showed that we are ready to refrain from modernizing nuclear weapons and from developing new types of these weapons, that we are prepared to embark on the road leading to the gradual elimination of this type of weapons.

We have been told that prohibition of nuclear tests presupposes verification. Right enough. Experience has already shown that verification of explosions is perfectly possible by national means. This was proved, for instance, when Soviet experts detected American low-yield nuclear tests of which no notification had been given. But we are prepared to go even farther. To make use of the openings afforded by the proposal of leaders of India, Sweden, Argentina, Tanzania, Greece, and Mexico. In the event of an effective ban on explosions we would not be opposed to appropriate on-the-spot verification. This is our position. We are ready resolutely to forge ahead.

The U.S. side, at least at this writing, has not evinced similar readiness. And some American sources make no secret of why this is so. The reason is that the U.S. is developing new types of weapons, space weapons included.

It should be borne in mind that one of the U.S. "arguments" in favour of the Strategic Defence Initiative was that it supposedly will lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons. Now it is admitted that nuclear devices are essential for the realization of SDI. Could 1986 mark the beginning of the saturation of outer space with nuclear death?

One does not want to believe this. But unwillingness to believe is not enough. What is needed is struggle—unceasing, active, steadily mounting struggle. That struggle is under way. It is waged by the socialist countries. In the recent period the socialist community has on repeated occasions (in Sofia, Prague, Moscow and Bucharest) clearly declared that it is firmly opposed to the militarization of outer space and is for the ending of nuclear tests and for the reduction of nuclear arsenals. This struggle is waged also by the non-aligned and neutral countries, and by diverse political organizations, including the Communist, Socialist and Social Democratic parties. It is being waged by the biggest mass movement of the end of the 20th century—the anti-war movement. The stake in this fight is enormous, of global dimensions; it is a matter of surviving together or dying together. Humanity wants to live.

Nineteen eighty-six has been proclaimed International Year of Peace. Actually it is a case of making it a year of struggle for peace. We all want this struggle to produce results. We want this year to mark a real turn towards peace in world affairs.

II.

But will it be a year of such a turn? We said above that in our time international politics and the internal affairs of every nation are closely interlinked. The relationship is reciprocal. Looking at things from our Soviet standpoint, from the positions of a large socialist country, we realize full well that international developments depend to a great extent on how the Soviet people manage their domestic affairs.

It should be recalled that when the Washington hawks turned from détente to renewed confrontation in the mid-seventies, they hoped, among other things, that the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union would not be able to cope with the economic problems that asserted themselves at the time. They thought that socialism would be weakened and hence become more "pliable" and capitulate under Western pressure. This was the point of departure in the planning of diverse boycotts and in giving effect to them. This was the underlying consideration in exerting pressure on Poland and Cuba and in threatening now one, now another socialist country with sanctions.

But they miscalculated, and not for the first time. Again it was plain that, as a social system, socialism possesses a tremendous inbuilt potential, which, if properly used, enables it to resolve the most complex problems. Today this is beginning to be recognized, true, reluctantly. This perhaps underlies the increased inclination on the part of certain highly influential quarters in Western Europe, and also in overseas countries, towards a measure of normalization of relations with our country. If this is so, the future will to no small extent depend on our further development and its results.

A dual responsibility devolves on every Soviet citizen, on every citizen of the socialist world: responsibility for the future of his country (and hence also for his own future) and responsibility for the cause of peace. Everyone in the countries of the new society should understand this. What the West should understand is that socialism is aware of its responsibility and is doing its utmost to act accordingly.

Fully conscious of this dual responsibility, the citizen of the Soviet Union enters 1986 aware that this is not just another New Year and not even just the first year of another five-year plan. "It," Mikhail Gorbachev said of the incoming year at the recent session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, **"ushers in a qualitatively new stage in the development of Soviet society."**

"Qualitatively new stage" is not simply a formula. Behind these words are our far-reaching plans, the creative, pioneering designs of our Party. They have a bearing on all aspects of the life of the Soviet people.

Basic to the concept of the country's future is the acceleration of the social and economic development of our society. This concept is set forth and substantiated in the draft of the new text of the Party Programme, the Main Guidelines for the development of the U.S.S.R. in the coming five-year period and up to the beginning of the 21st century, and also in the materials of recent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. This concept marks a new stage both in our theory and our practice. To all intents and purposes the realization of this concept has already begun: measures adopted by the Party and supported by the people made it possible to achieve notable results already last year, despite all the difficulties. Our economic growth rate went up. But the main work is of course still ahead. It has to be tackled at once beginning with the first days of 1986.

The plan for this year provides for higher rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production than those of the 11th five-year plan. It is of course not only a matter of quantitative indicators. How the plan targets are to be achieved is one of our principal concerns at the year's beginning. The object is more output on the basis of a qualitative advance all along the line—more efficient labour and more effective organization of work, higher productivity, reduction of the expenditure of energy and metal per unit of output, and, of course, better planning and management of the entire process of social production.

These questions are being discussed everywhere in the country, and primarily at the pre-congress Party conferences. For **1986 is the year of the 27th Congress of the CPSU,** now less than two months off. The materials endorsed by the October 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for submission to the congress are the subject of a nationwide discussion, with criticism and self-criticism as the keynote. For depth and breadth this discussion perhaps has no precedent.

The Western press is none too eager to carry information about life in the Soviet Union. On the whole, very little is written about us, and especially about our achievements. This is understandable, for the truth about socialism exposes the anti-socialist lies and blasts the vicious legends that have been circulated about us for nearly seven decades now. At present, however, many mass media have begun to carry reports about the discussions under way in the U.S.S.R., about the critical remarks made, and appointments to various official positions. Why? The reason is clear: our self-criticism is interpreted as a sign of weakness, as "proof" of all the shopworn anti-Soviet legends. A hunt is on for "setbacks" suffered by socialism.

But again they miscalculate. For our criticism and self-criticism is not a sign of weakness but evidence of the strength of Soviet society, and of socialist society in general, testimony to the resolve of the Party and the people not merely to lay bare shortcomings but to overcome them, to find new reserves to draw on, to give added impetus to the country's development. The emphasis placed by the Party on openness, on the deepening of criticism and self-criticism is a sign of its confidence in itself, a sign of the indestructible unity of the Party and the people.

As regards speculation about personnel changes, there is nothing out of the ordinary in such changes. They have always been prompted by the imperatives of life and always will be. At the same time such changes today are also an indication of the higher demands placed by Party organizations, rank-and-file members of the Party and non-Party people in general on their leaders, thereby ensuring a constant inflow of fresh forces while seeing to it that tried and tested cadres are given due recognition. This exacting approach is also a sign of strength. At the same time it shows that the Party and the people are determined to forge ahead, to improve the style and methods of Party and administrative work.

It may be confidently asserted that the most important achievement since the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is the heightened activity of the membership of the Party, of all Soviet citizens. Why the most important? Because you can work out the finest plans and ideal guideposts to the future, but they will remain mere dreams unless they are carried out in practice. And that is where what is known as the "human factor" comes in.

The human factor does not lend itself to any simplistic definition. In it are capsuled the conscientious, creative work of the right man in the right place; all manner of incentives to such work, and this includes better material and spiritual conditions of life; constant observance of the socialist principles of social justice, which implies consistent struggle against any departure from these principles; the moral rectitude of society, overcoming all digressions from it, beginning with drunkenness and ending with money-grubbing, deception, flattery and careerism.

Talking with people abroad or with visitors to our country one is sometimes asked: are you not Utopians? Are you not trying to change human nature overnight? Is that possible?

No, we do not set ourselves utopian goals. The entire history of the Soviet Union shows that Soviet people have developed many new qualities, new character traits. Indeed, a new Soviet character. If this were not so we would not have advanced as far as we have.

But, not all the problems have yet been solved. We have still to rid ourselves of certain negative features inherited from the old world. Certain difficulties are engendered by the alien social system on our doorstep. Some of the problems are the result of our own mistakes or shortcomings. But the problems we have solved have been solved once and for all. This in itself shows that man is capable of unlimited self-improvement—given, of course, the appropriate conditions, social conditions above all. Such conditions we have. But they must be improved in depth as is provided for by the draft documents of the 27th CPSU Congress. This calls for purposeful and conscious efforts on the part of society, and it is ready, on the whole, to make such efforts. In fact, it is already doing so with great enthusiasm.

The year 1985 saw a wealth of promising new developments in this respect which are to be continued and augmented in 1986. For us 1986 must be both a Year of Peace and a year of accelerated progress, a year that will inspire man to still more vigorous activity, to further creative and moral progress.

A factor conducive to optimism is that our attitude to the coming year as a special one is shared by our friends, the peoples of the other socialist countries.

The outgoing year has laid a solid and reliable foundation for what is to come. This has been the year of the prolongation of the Warsaw Treaty which guarantees our security. It has been the year of the fruitful Sofia session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Treaty's member states where the programme for joint action in the international arena—action for peace and progress—has been approved. It has been the year of the extraordinary, 41st, session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which adopted the Comprehensive Programme for the participating states' scientific and technological progress over the period of up to 2000. It has been the year of marked headway in relations amongst all the socialist countries.

Our enemies dream of abolishing socialism, reversing the course of history and pushing mankind back into the pre-socialist era. Hence their unceasing complaints about a divided Europe, that is, the choosing of socialism by Central and East European countries. Hence the persistent attempts to encroach on the territorial integrity of the socialist countries, ranging from revanchist sallies on the Rhine to the American policy of "two Chinas." Hence the continued accusations, false through and through, of "encouraging terrorism," levelled against socialist countries. Unable to contain himself, the U.S. Secretary of State banged his fist on the table when told in Belgrade that the peoples' fight for freedom and their resistance to the attempts at exporting counterrevolution could not be identified with terrorism. Hence the efforts to disunite the socialist countries either by promises of some kind of "benefits" (the object being to get one or another state under dollar control), or by classifying them into "better," "worse," "more independent" and "less independent" countries.

All this has been given a worthy rebuff over the past months. Each socialist state retains its own identity. Each has its own interests and is able to uphold them. But they also have common interests, a common destiny, common plans and a common future. They uphold their common international interests just as they do their individual national interests. This was manifested at the meetings of the leaders of the fraternal countries in Sofia and Prague; at the 41st (extraordinary) CMEA session; at the Bucharest conference of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of 11 farternal countries held on the eve of the New Year. The unity and interlinking of the national and the international is the guarantee of the socialist progress of peoples representing almost a third of mankind.

We are certain that the year 1986 will indeed be a special one from the standpoint of the development of world socialism. The socialist countries will apply themselves to the fulfilment of their new five-year plans and their common, collective programme of scientific and technological progress. These plans are geared to the needs of the 21st century. Fulfilling them will of course be far from easy. We are bound to encounter the problems involved in blazing new trails. We shall have to master not only new technology, but also new methods of work, joint work included. We shall have to change certain attitudes and overcome certain old habits. And while doing so we shall have to continue our effort for peace and a secure future for the peoples.

In this difficult and strenuous endeavour the peoples of our countries will have, as always, the fraternal support of the working people, and above all the proletariat of the non-socialist world. For their part the socialist nations will go on supporting their class brothers abroad.

In this respect, too, 1986 will be a special year. After all, the coming year will mark the 100th anniversary of the American proletarians' famous Chicago strike which, though ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities, gave rise to a mighty wave of internationalist solidarity. It was from the Chicago struggle and acts of solidarity with it that May Day, the day of the international solidarity of the working people, emerged.

We are confident that 1986 will also see the further strengthening of working people's internationalism worldwide, and their interaction in the fight for freedom, human rights, and above all their No. 1 right—the right to life. Socialism holds aloft the banner of this struggle.

People usually wish each other success and happiness for the New Year. While adhering to this tradition, we realize, to a greater extent than ever before, that what the coming year will bring depends on all of us. Therefore, let us work together so that it may really bring us success and happiness, and, of course, a more stable and reliable peace!

■

WILL NUCLEAR TESTING CEASE?

VLADLEN KUZNETSOV

The nuclear age began with the first test of the deadliest weapon ever (if we discount the theoretical and laboratory stages of its development). The test was carried out by Washington in Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945. Within weeks, on August 6, the Americans tried out their A-bomb in action — on Hiroshima.

Nuclear tests do not necessarily lead to war. In the forty years since the bomb was dropped there have been no more Hiroshimas. There is no guarantee, however, that things will remain so for ever. The overproduction of nuclear weapons is fraught with the threat of a holocaust. Nuclear war could break out by accident.

To Break the Vicious Circle

Tests are not carried out for testing's sake. They give the green light to improved and new-generation weapons. These weapons are tested for combat use. Test race breeds arms race, demanding ever newer experiments. How is this vicious circle to be broken?

By stopping the tests, comes the answer. No tests would mean no confidence in the efficiency of this or that weapon system and, consequently, no stimulus to produce it. And if production lines slow down, there will be fewer weapons to deploy, the arms race will lose its momentum, and the threat of war will diminish. Consequently, the stopping of weapon tests will directly affect subsequent processes connected with the production of weapons. There is a further point which certainly merits more attention than it is getting at present. If it becomes impossible to test newly invented weapons or those on the drawing boards, then research and development will make no sense at all, and the processes leading to the improvement of old weapons and the creation of new ones will then be as good as blocked.

This could be the result of stopping nuclear tests.

To end nuclear blasts would effectively mean to take a resolute step towards restricting, materially and physically, the practical possibilities for producing new-type nuclear warheads, bombs and missiles. A step which, under present circumstances, would probably be easier to agree upon than other far-reaching measures.

Seeking to reduce the threat of nuclear war, curb the arms race and consolidate and promote the progress made at the Geneva summit, the Soviet Union is now insisting on the complete banning of nuclear weapon tests for an unlimited period of time under effective international control. Receiving Professor Bernard Lown, co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, in the Kremlin on December 18, Mikhail Gorbachev voiced the Soviet Union's readiness to extend beyond January 1, 1986, the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing announced by the Soviet Union on August 6, 1985, the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima—if Washington followed suit. Moscow has offered humanity a truly historic and unique opportunity to make nuclear disarmament a reality, create a reliable guarantee of preventing a global catastrophe. "It would be unreasonable, to say the least, to miss this chance which paves the way for an agreement on banning all nuclear tests for all time," the Soviet leader stressed. "Now it rests with the government of the U.S. to decide the matter."

The civilized world wishes to see the issue satisfactorily resolved.

The U.N. General Assembly has just adopted a resolution on the immediate stopping and banning of all nuclear weapon tests, with only three member states—the U.S., Britain and France—voting against it.

"We must remember the farsightedness which led us to such achievements as the Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear weapon tests signed over 20 years ago," Perez de Cuellar, the U.N. Secretary-General, said in his report on the Organization's work in 1985. "Today the reaching of an agreement on the comprehensive banning of nuclear tests would be clear and extremely important evidence of mankind's preparedness to remove the nuclear threat."

The leaders of six states—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—called upon the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. last October to stop nuclear tests altogether and usher in an era of peace and security for all mankind.

"The halting of all nuclear explosions and the concluding of a nuclear test ban treaty are priority demands of world public opinion and of the United Nations," says the statement of the World Peace Council published on July 31, 1985.

What is the nature of public feeling in the United States in this respect? The leaders of 150 peace organizations have called on the President to follow the Soviet example, describing it as "the most promising arms control development of recent years." In May 1985, the House Foreign Affairs Committee called on the Administration to resume negotiations with the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of reaching an agreement on the complete banning of nuclear tests, and to sumbit the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American treaties on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes for ratification. Forty-six Senators and 106 Representatives urged the Administration to resume talks on banning nuclear tests and described these talks as a fine way of promoting the atmosphere of cooperation which has set in after the Geneva summit.

Addressing a special arms control group of the House Armed Services Committee, William Colby, ex-director of the CIA, characterized the Soviet peace initiatives as "very substantial offers in recent months indicating a desire for a mutual ending of the arms race which is, of course, very much in their [the Russians'] interest as it is in ours." William Colby believes that the best way to put an end to the arms race is simply to stop it, and he is not alone in thinking so.

The President "Has No Idea"

It is unnecessary to conduct a public opinion poll to find out what sane people the world over want—their desires are clear. There do exist, nevertheless, individuals whose views on certain matters of principle are at variance—to put it mildly—with common sense and normal logic, which does not prevent them from dressing up even absurdities as pearls of wisdom beyond the reach of the "uninitiated."

Seeking to discredit the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests in the eyes of international (and American) public opinion, such experts in political chicanery assert that the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests has cost Moscow nothing because the latter has brought its own test programme to a successful conclusion and is now working to prevent the Americans com-

pleting theirs, and this at a time when the U.S. is already finding it difficult to keep abreast of them.

Actually, it is the Soviet Union that has to keep abreast of the U.S. in all aspects of the arms race, nuclear weapon tests included. Judging from estimates of experts and competent organizations the number of nuclear tests the U.S. has carried out since 1945 is 30 per cent in excess of the Soviet figure. According to the U.S. Centre for Defence Information, the U.S. certainly leads the world in this respect. So who leads the race?

Since Moscow's suspension of nuclear tests Washington has already carried out six. Altogether, allocations to underground nuclear tests have doubled during Reagan's presidency. Three billion dollars have been earmarked for the extension of existing nuclear weapon proving grounds and building new ones in the next few years. In May 1955, it will be recalled, the Soviet Union submitted to the U.N. Disarmament Commission a proposal that all states possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons should pledge themselves to stop nuclear tests. This was done despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. had carried out fewer tests than the U.S. As for the current, unilateral moratorium, Moscow cut short its test programme, without its being completed. Deciding on such a move was no easy matter, considering the scale of war preparations the U.S. and NATO in general are now engaged in. The decision shows that Moscow is guided by political considerations of principle, and concern for the future of the war-threatened world, rather than by mere arithmetic. If official Washington follows the Soviet leaders' actions with due attention it cannot fail to note that they are taking a truly innovatory and bold approach to problems of international security and are prepared to adopt far-reaching measures, unilateral ones included, to the point of self-restriction, in order to get the process of arms limitation and reduction off the ground and bring to reason those who, with the nuclear abyss yawning at their feet, are still trying to delude themselves and others with false hopes that the world's salvation lies in the "balance of fear."

Placards reading "Russia stopped testing. Why don't we?" can be seen in front of the White House today. Why, indeed? Asked when the U.S. would be able to stop nuclear tests, the President answered that he had no idea.

What they do have an idea of is why they are reluctant to stop nuclear weapon tests.

The Pentagon is planning to improve the warheads of MX, Trident, Midgetman and cruise missiles. Designers are busy developing third-generation weapons "able to focus the awesome destructive force of nuclear weapons more selectively." In the Pentagon they believe that the new miracle weapons "could be the most significant change in nuclear weapons technology since the early days of the nuclear era." Such a temptation is too strong to resist.

The arms race is being given an entirely new dimension. Completely new weapons are being developed with which to fight a nuclear war. This is all but taken for granted. "Without such research and testing," the New York Times says, "there would be little confidence that the complex system of command and control would permit what Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has called a protracted nuclear war in which the United States could prevail."

Nuclear Shylocks are overstocked but they cannot be satiated. They say that continued testing is vital to U.S. national security, "indispensable to maintaining the credibility of our nuclear deterrent," to quote Richard Perle, Weinberger's assistant and an out-and-out hawk.

U.S. "deterrent" potential is considered inadequate, we are told. One can't help marvelling at the nerve of those who claim this. Isn't it common knowledge that the U.S. has stockpiled enough nuclear weapons to blow the world skyhigh ten times over? "Surely the Soviets know, as well as we do," Harold Evans writes in the article "The President's Chance" carried by U.S. News and World Report, "that even without further testing we have for the next 100 years enough reliable warheads to destroy their society ten times over." Knowing this is not enough. It's about time conclusions were drawn from the knowledge of harsh realities, and this knowledge translated into practical policy using the chance offered by the other side in order to guarantee, by joint effort, mutual survival rather than mutual destruction.

Both the Americans and their European allies are trying hard to convince the White House that it would be only plain common sense to take the hand extended by the Soviet Union, to make its unilateral moratorium bilateral and, ultimately, universal. "If we never built, nor tested another nuclear weapon," the Centre for Defence Information explained to the President, "we would retain the clear and certain capability to annihilate the Soviet Union well into the 21st century. If that certainty will not deter a Soviet attack on the U.S., nothing will." That's true enough. Even if American weapons lose somewhat in efficiency and reliability with time, the CDI goes on, the same will be true of Soviet arms as well. In what way will mutual deterrence weaken if both sides submit to the same process?

This process of mutual restraint and curtailing preparations for war does not suit those who set the tone of all American state policy, the captains of the American military-industrial complex. This explains why the other side does not listen to reason.

At this point it is opportune to mention the principal reason for which Washington rejects the chance to stop rivalry in the development and testing of nuclear warheads and the means of their delivery. This is to be found in SDI, the "star wars" programme, a programme which, though publicized as a non-nuclear one, requires, according to the Washington Post, the nuclear testing of an X-ray laser which is amongst its components. Edward Teller, "the father of the U.S. hydrogen bomb," is one of those who are pushing SDI the hardest. This fanatic to whom nothing seems sacred except arms is said to have talked the President into increasing allocations to a whole series of tests to be carried out in the context of the SDI programme.

Verification Is Possible

Seeking to conceal the sinister purposes of experiments with nuclear arms and explain its refusal to stop them, the U.S. Administration talks about the "inadequacy" of control. This is referred to as almost the main obstacle in the way of an agreement on a mutual moratorium. This obstacle, however, is of Washington's making.

As early as March 1963, the Christian Science Monitor gave the lie to the argument that control was impossible. It wrote that the art of detecting nuclear blasts and distinguishing them from earthquakes had reached a point where the U.S. could calmly consent to a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests, underground ones included, and rely on its own monitoring facilities. Now, almost a quarter of a century later, this art has been further refined and brought to foolproof reliability. Many experts, American included, are unanimous that if an agreement is reached verifying its observance will be no problem at all. "Is it [the ban] policeable from outside Soviet borders?" the Baltimore Sun asks. "Yes, say respected American seismologists, among them Jack F. Evernden, a research geophysicist with the U.S. Geological Survey who has worked on nuclear test detection since 1965." He is of the opinion that "the problem today is lack of political will, not technical incompetence."

There are over a thousand seismic stations in the world. Those belonging to the U.S. and its allies are located near Soviet borders. By virtue of their geographical location alone Washington has a much greater verification capability than Moscow. Modern equipment responds to explosions of a yield as low as one kiloton. Such are the indisputable facts.

Instructive Experience

The problem of a complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests is nothing new. It goes back many decades. The international community has accumulated no mean experience in dealing with the problem, and this experience is most instructive.

In 1955 the U.S.S.R. came up with its first proposal to stop testing. The proposal fell on deaf ears.

In 1958 the U.S.S.R. suspended its nuclear weapon tests from March 31, but announced their resumption on August 30, 1961. Certain quarters in Washington are not averse to speculating on this fact of postwar history: how can we trust the Russians, when they go back on their own decisions, they inquire. But the first Soviet moratorium was made conditional on the Western powers following the Soviet example. At first everything seemed to go well: the U.S. joined in on August 22, and Britain immediately afterwards. But as early as December 29, 1959, President Dwight Eisenhower said that the U.S. would consider itself free from its obligations as from December 31. France started nuclear testing in February 1960. What was the Soviet Union to do under the circumstances? Neglect its security?

If Washington fails to listen to reason today and give Moscow's good will its due, the U.S.S.R. will not waive the interests of its own security and that of its allies and friends.

On August 5, 1963, the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water was signed. The treaty, the signatories to which now number 113, was the first step towards the limitation of the arms race. The temporary moratorium of 1958-61 had certainly contributed to it. Another contributing factor was a unilateral moratorium of atmospheric tests announced by President Kennedy. Yes, there was a time when the U.S. ventured upon such actions, too. Kennedy set a precedent, and the lack of similar manifestations of good will is a reproach to the current Administration.

In 1974-76, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. signed two treaties, one restricting the yield of underground nuclear explosions to 150 kilotons, and the other setting this limit also for underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Both documents remain unratified, but the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. stick to their commitments.

In 1977-82, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain entered into negotiations, on the Soviet initiative, with a view to signing a complete and universal nuclear test ban treaty. The document had been agreed upon, on the whole, by the summer of 1980. At that very moment the U.S.A. and NATO backed down. At the concluding stage the talks were cut short by the West. In July 1982, the Reagan Administration refused to resume them.

Such is the background to the current Soviet moratorium. Every step along the road to a complete termination of nuclear tests was hard won. Nevertheless, these steps have been taken, which shows that a practical solution is not impossible. And the Soviet Union is now doing all it can to make further headway.

In order to heighten the effectiveness of control that Washington insists upon, the U.S.S.R. has supported the idea of using an international verification system. Six states have offered the use of their territories for monitoring the observance of a treaty on stopping nuclear tests.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go even further. If the moratorium were mutual, the two sides could agree on certain on-the-spot verification measures to remove whatever doubts might arise as to the observance of the obligations assumed.

The world is now waiting for Moscow and Washington to continue the processes initiated at the Geneva summit. Would a mutual moratorium not give weighty confirmation to the "new start" the U.S. President spoke of? Is not such a moratorium aimed at making nuclear weapons "powerless and obsolete," which is President Reagan's professed objective?

The nuclear age started with tests. It is high time they were stopped and a new age leading to a nuclear-free world was ushered in. ■

U.S.S.R.—IRAQ

THE MOSCOW TALKS

The long-standing friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and Iraq are based on the bilateral April 1972 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. This cooperation is equitable, mutually beneficial and encompasses diverse fields—politics, economics, trade and culture. It is enough to indicate that the Soviet Union has helped Iraq to build some 80 key economic installations and is currently assisting in the construction of another 20.

Broader and better cooperation was highlighted in the middle of last month when Saddam Hussain, Iraq's President and Chairman of its Revolutionary Command Council, came to this country on a friendly working visit, during which he was received by Mikhail Gorbachev and had talks with Andrei Gromyko, Eduard Shevardnadze and other Soviet leaders.

As was to be expected, priority among the international issues discussed was the troubled situation in the Middle East, where Iraq is located. The Soviet side stressed that the way to a comprehensive Middle East setlement lay through an international conference, at which mutually acceptable solutions should be sought and found. To this end it was crucial for the Arab countries to rally together and pool their efforts. It was likewise vital to reject attempts to substitute sundry versions of separate and essentially capitulatory deals with the aggressor for a tangible pursuit of peace.

This is all the more important for Iraq, especially in view of the long drawn-out war, with its high toll in lives, with neighbouring Iran. Baghdad, the Iraqi leader explained, is seeking to settle the conflict peaceably "on the basis of respect for sovereignty, honour and the legitimate rights of both parties."

Still, the war continues and more

people, not only in uniform, but also, not infrequently, living far from the 1,200-kilometre front line, are dying. The tension in the Persian Gulf zone only plays into the hands of the imperialist powers. They are exploiting it as a pretext for building up a military and political presence imperilling the sovereignty and independence of the Gulf states.

From the very outset the Soviet Union has regarded the war between Iran and Iraq as unnatural and senseless. It has always vigorously advocated its immediate cessation and settlement of the conflict by negotiation, a point that was re-emphasized at the recent Moscow talks.

A. ULANSKY

U.S.A.—F.R.G.

SECOND ACCOMPLICE

This month Minister of Economics Martin Bangemann will be going to the U.S. to negotiate "better general terms for the exchange of research findings and technological know-how." This results from an important decision of principle that has been taken by Bonn. According to the official announcement, the minister is to seek an agreement "to strengthen the legal position of German research institutes and enterprises desirous of accepting contracts for the SDI research programme." In other words, following London, the Bonn cabinet has given the go-ahead to talks concerned with the terms on which the country's scientific and industrial potential will be geared to "star wars."

Newsmen were not surprised. After all, the conservative CDU/CSU bloc in the government coalition had long sought this objective. As early as last April in a government statement to the Bundestag Chancellor Helmut Kohl described the Strategic Defence Initiative as supposedly "justifiable, politically vital and in accordance with Western security interests generally." The Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in the coalition, was more restrained. Thus, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, still possibly the most influential politician in the party even though he has resigned the chairmanship, more than once said he feared that an arms race in outer space would make détente on earth impossible. Nevertheless, coalition discipline overrode considerations of principle. Although Free Democrat leaders still regard many SDI issues as "outstanding," they agreed to have the party's current chairman Bangemann negotiate with the Americans.

As a face-saving gesture, after another turn about towards the conservatives, the liberal leaders insisted that the government statement be worded in such a way as to create the impression that all that is at stake is "technological cooperation," not involvement in the development of space strike weaponry. At a news conference government spokesman Friedhelm Ost preferred to sidestep questions touching upon the political consequences of Bonn's decision

On the eve of the cabinet meeting, Chancellor Kohl alleged that "juridically the situation is such that nobody, including even myself, could prevent German firms from accepting the American invitation and cooperating in the SDI research programme." Hence he presumed it would be better to agree with Washington so that "technological cooperation" did not become a one-way street where F.R.G. military concerns were left out in the cold. The question, of course, is not one of the absence of the necessary provisions in West German legislation. Were Bonn to heed scientists and military experts, including its own specialists, and acknowledge that plans for an anti-missile space "shield" have nothing at all to do with defence but are aimed at securing unilateral military superiority and first-strike capability, it would have found a way of ruling out involvement in SDI in any shape or form. After all Article 26 of the Constitution declares unconstitutional and punishable "actions capable of violating the peaceful joint life of the peoples and undertaken to that end, more specifically, to prepare for a war of aggression." However, the government already demonstrated disregard for its own Constitution when it agreed to the deployment in F.R.G. of American first-strike nuclear missiles.

Furthermore, the question is not one exclusively of private firms. Though the government announcement says it does not seek state involvement in SDI and has no plans to subsidize it, the research that military concerns are conducting is state subsidized, with the Defence Ministry allocating 2,100 million marks thereto last year. It is quite plain that the Treasury will also finance research associated with SDI.

Equally at variance with these assurances are the calls issued by Defence

VISITS, TALKS

On December 23 Mikhail Gorbachev received LI Peng, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, who was in Moscow for a brief visit. They had an exchange of opinions on Soviet-Chinese relations and other problems of mutual interest. Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed the sincere desire of the Soviet side for a serious improvement of relations with China. Further progress in strengthening good-neighbourship and cooperation between the two socialist countries would accord with the long-term fundamental interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples, and the interests of peace and security in Asia and the world generally. LI Peng spoke of the desire of the Chinese side to help promote the normalization of bilateral relations and of China's interest in the maintenance of world peace.

Minister Manfred Wörner, CSU chairman Franz-Josef Strauss, Bundestag CDU/CSU faction chairman Alfred Dregger, and other Right-wingers to complement U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space with a "European" anti-missile defence system. Naturally a system of this order cannot be built up by private means alone. According to local news media, the country's biggest concerns, Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, Standard Elektrik Lorenz, and Elektronik System Gesellschaft have already notified the Pentagon of their views which have been received "with keen interest." Finally, Richard Burd, U.S. Ambassador to the F.R.G., bluntly "recommended" that Bonn concentrate on a European version of SDI.

All this is taking place at a time when the world is pinning its hopes on the implementation of the accords reached at the Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Geneva. Bonn welcomed the results. The Federal Chancellor emphasized that the pledge reciprocally assumed by the two great powers not to seek military superiority should furnish the "foundation for a dialogue on security." He highlighted the intentions of the two sides to expedite talks on nuclear and space weaponry and also noted that the said accords were in keeping with the country's interests.

Doesn't Bonn's current decision run counter to these words and assessments? The opposition has rightly indicated that any government agreement for involvement in SDI would also signify political support for the project. The F.R.G. will thus be assuming responsibility for all the consequences of the implementation of "star wars."

Our Own Correspondent

Bonn

KOREAN PENINSULA

CALL FROM PHYONGYANG

What part of the world do you think is the most heavily saturated with nuclear weapons—all types of these weapons—tactical missiles with nuclear warheads, atom bombs, mines and even so-called "nuclear packs" stuffed with microbombs?

The answer is South Korea, which in proportion to the size of its territory has four times as many nuclear warheads of various types as the NATO countries. Altogether more than a thousand mass destruction weapons are concentrated in the south of the peninsula. The part of South Korean territory adjoining the demarcation line is the only zone in the world where nuclear charges have been laid in the ground.

To whom does this huge nuclear arsenal belong? To the United States, of course, which for more than three decades now has had an army of more than 40,000 men stationed in South Korea. Washington plans to supplement it with B-52 strategic bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons, cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. Moreover, efforts are being made also to involve South Korea in the "star wars" programme.

The above data is taken from a joint statement of 21 political parties and public organizations in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made public in mid-December in Phyongyang. The joint statement was drawn up on the basis of the results of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva. The agreements reached there are taken as the point of departure for resolute action to prevent a nuclear war.

Naturally, the authors of the statement, moved by the desire to rid Korea of the nuclear peril, focussed their attention primarily on the situation in South Korea, which is so thickly sown with U.S. weapons of mass destruction. Because of this, they point out, "the Korean peninsula has become a region so tense and explosive that the slightest miscalculation could cause the outbreak of nuclear war."

"If nuclear war breaks out in Korea," the document says, "we Koreans will be its victims and our native land will be turned into a desert waste. A nuclear disaster will spare neither the Communists in the North nor the nationalists in the South. The adherents of neither the one ideology nor the other, neither one or other social system will survive on the ruins left by a nuclear disaster." And the outbreak of nuclear war on the Korean peninsula could easily develop into a world thermonuclear holocaust.

The Phyongyang statement is an impassioned appeal to all fellow Koreans, North and South, to all who cannot but be concerned for the fate of the 60 million-strong Korean nation. It is an appeal to rise above political, ideological and religious differences, to rally in a nationwide anti-nuclear movement aimed at the removal from South Korea of all types of American nuclear weapons and to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace.

It is to the credit of the authors of the appeal that while voicing the national aspirations of the Korean people, they regard their initiative as a contribution to the safeguarding of Asian security in general and the strengthening of world peace. They make it plain that it is the duty of all peace-loving forces in Asia and the Pacific, and other continents and regions to give moral and political support to this well-considered, timely and constructive initiative permeated with a genuine desire to rid both Koreas, all of Korea, of the fear of the nuclear threat. For the edifice of world peace and international security is built of regional bricks. And all the world's peoples must help to build it.

A. USVATOV

PAKISTAN

WAR ON THE PASHTUNS

Nearly every day brings fresh disquieting news from the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan where there has been fierce fighting since the beginning of December between Pashtun tribesmen and regular troops of the Pakistani army. The forces in the battle are uneven. The armed units which have invaded the homeland of the Afridi and Shinwar tribes are equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and their operations are supported by artillery, tanks, bombers and helicopters, while the tribesmen have only light firearms, in some cases those used by their forebears to defend themselves with.

What have the inhabitants of the

frontier villages done to incur the wrath of the Pakistani government?

Before replying to this question it is worth recalling the complex and rather dramatic history of the Pashtuns, of whom there are some 20 million, who for centuries have dwelt on both sides of what is now the Afghan-Pakistan border. Their way of life has changed little over the years. They engage in hunting, cultivation of the soil and cattle breeding, leading a largely nomadic life. Natural conditions are grim—rocky barren soil, lack of water, cold winters and hot summers. Most families barely manage to make ends meet.

Their mode of life is simple in the extreme. For many years they were virtually isolated from the outside world. Most of their settlements have never had a hospital, a school or electricity. Nevertheless the Pashtuns have jealously preserved their customs and patriarchal traditions. They have always been ready to take up arms to defend their homes, land and independence against interference from without. Hunters, warriors and cattle breeders roaming freely with their herds, it was their custom to set aside a rifle for every boy born into a Pashtun family before giving him a name.

When a people's democratic government was established in Afghanistan changes for the better began to take place in the lives of the Afghan Pashtuns. Despite the difficult conditions caused by the undeclared war, the revolutionary government of Afghanistan has done much to improve social and economic conditions for the frontier tribes and allocates substantial funds for education, medical services and agriculture. In 1983, for instance, a ten-year programme was adopted to ensure the supply of water to distant pastures and caravan routes for nomadic cattle-breeders. In this period 45 large boreholes and 115 wells are to be drilled. Some 1.8 million hectares of land are to receive a reliable water supply. The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan guarantees the Pashtuns the right to freedom and self-government within the framework of the Afghan state.

The picture on the other side of the frontier is altogether different. The military regime of Zia ul-Haq, encouraged by Washington, has turned its frontier region into a springboard for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. More than 120 camps and centres where terrorists, saboteurs and hatchetmen for the dushman bands are trained have been set up there, and more than 100 bases and arms dumps for counterrevolutionary units have been built. In return for "services rendered," Islamabad receives the latest arms and equipment and generous financial aid from Washington.

What the Islamabad authorities did not bargain for was that the Pashtuns of the frontier districts would not be willing to betray their brothers in Afghanistan. Their chiefs and elders, on behalf of their fellow-tribesmen, have repeatedly condemned the criminal war against Afghanistan. Many authorized representatives of the Pakistani Pashtuns took part in a jirgeh (council) of frontier tribes in Kabul last September. They fully supported the decision not to help the counterrevolutionary bands in tribal areas on both sides of the frontier. When the delegates returned home, many of the larger tribes, of 100,000-200,000 people, held local jirgehs which endorsed the decisions adopted in Kabul. The population of the frontier areas demanded that Islamabad remove the camps and arms dumps on their territory and began to hinder the infiltration of dushman bands into Afghanistan.

The Pakistan authorities rushed an entire punitive corps to the Khyber Pass, where the tribal anti-dushman movement is particularly strong. Anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary formations based in the frontier area are helping Pakistani troops to bring the recalcitrant tribesmen to their knees.

The Pakistan authorities' allusion to "smuggling of narcotics and trade in arms" as a pretext for the fighting now deceives no one. Fear of widespread condemnation of the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the provocative part played in it by the Zia ul-Haq administration, as well as alarm at the growing dissatisfaction of the Pakistani people with the country's militarist policy—these are the real reasons for the armed adventure undertaken by Islamabad inside its own frontiers.

G. USTINOV

SOVIET-FINNISH T.U. MEETING

"The friendly and multiform trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Finland enable nearly 200,000 of my fellow-countrymen to earn a living," Pertti Viinanen, President of the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions, said in his concluding speech at the 29th session of the Permanent Soviet-Finnish Trade Union Commission just ended in Moscow.

The session was also attended by representatives from the Finnish trade union federations of office workers, specialists, and technical personnel. The delegation from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was headed by its Chairman Stepan Shalayev.

Information was exchanged on the activities of the trade unions of the two countries, and the prospects for the further development of Soviet-Finnish trade union contacts were discussed.

There was a substantive exchange of views on a wide range of international issues, in which both sides were unanimous in the opinion that the main event of the year—the meeting between the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.—had opened broad opportunities for the promotion of cooperation between the trade unions of East and West in the fight for peace. Both delegations agreed to hold a number of joint actions in 1986 which the U.N. has proclaimed the Year of Peace.

The commission heard a communication by the special working group of the unions of both countries for the promotion of trade and economic cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Finland, and defined the areas of its work. The rich experience in cooperation accumulated to date based on good-neighbourly relations between our two peoples should be developed still further, AUCCTU Chairman Stepan Shalayev said.

The session ended with the signing of a protocol on cooperation between the AUCCTU and the trade union federations of Finland for 1986-87.

V. GALIN

Nuclear-free zone: Yes or No?

IGNORING THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY

Last year I saw a huge poster on a gloomy-looking old house in central Copenhagen which read: "Our commune is a nuclear-free zone." The white letters on a blue background were evidence of the wish of most Danes (and other Scandinavians) to have such a zone established throughout the region. Their wish has not yet become a reality for a number of reasons.

Background

The idea behind a nuclear-free zone is simple: if you have no nuclear weapons in your territory, you are guaranteed against a nuclear strike. A range of obligations which states should assume reciprocally have been formulated over the past few years. Non-nuclear states should undertake not to produce or acquire such weapons and not to have them deployed on their territories, while nuclear powers must pledge to respect the status of a nuclear-free zone and renounce the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons against the states that form the zone, regardless of their membership of military alliances.

The proposal to establish such a zone in Northern Europe was preceded by initiatives put forward by a number of states. The Soviet Union, for instance, proposed in 1956 a non-atomic zone in Central Europe, and Poland came up with a similar idea in 1958. The initiative to make the Baltic a peace zone was relevant to the Scandinavian countries, and the Soviet Union unconditionally supported it.

In January 1958, the Soviet Union made a statement to the governments of Norway and Denmark pointing out that the renunciation of nuclear weapons by Copenhagen and Oslo (while neither Sweden nor Finland had any) meant that there were preconditions for the establishment of a zone free of atomic and hydrogen weapons throughout the region. Next year the Soviet government formulated security guarantees for a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia and the Baltic region that could be assumed by the Soviet Union and Western countries.

In 1961, Swedish Foreign Minister Östen Unden proposed a "non-atomic club" to be formed by countries which did not at the time possess nuclear weapons. The Unden plan was intended for Africa, Latin America, Australia and the north of Europe. Finally, President Urho Kekkonen of Finland proposed in May 1963 that Northern Europe should become non-nuclear, so the year 1963 is generally considered the starting point of numerous debates on the subject.

More than twenty years have passed. Debates have continued with varying degrees of success depending on the international political climate and the political situation in the Scandinavian countries. Today the idea has got a second wind. For a number of reasons, both negative and positive, it has become central to debates on security problems.

For a long time the cold-war winds did not reach Scandinavia, but nowadays, thanks to NATO strategists, it is feeling the impact of world tension increasingly keenly through Norway, Denmark and Iceland. The U.S. and NATO war preparations are making themselves more strongly felt, and the idea of stability is becoming more relative.

Doubts and Worries

A new U.S. naval strategy calls for the strengthening of the northern flank of the Atlantic alliance. The goals of this strategy have been formulated bluntly by U.S. Navy Secretary John Lehman as offensive operations against the Soviet Union in its territorial waters and strikes at targets deep in Soviet territory. NATO's infrastructure is being expanded and modernized. It is planned to build an underground U.S. Navy control centre, fuel reserves for American strategic bombers are being stockpiled, and more and more airfields are being built.

Washington is also trying to introduce nuclear weapons to Scandinavia (although Norway and Denmark, when joining NATO, stipulated that they would have none in their territories in peace time). Nuclear-armed NATO planes and warships are constantly on patrol duty in the northeastern Atlantic. According to press reports, they often use airfields and ports in Norway and Denmark.

It transpired in 1983 that the U.S. was planning to deploy in Norway, Denmark and Iceland cruise missiles with conventional warheads, which could be replaced by nuclear ones in "crisis situations". The news shocked the Scandinavians, but the Pentagon kept silent. In the same year John Lehman tried to convince Oslo that it was necessary to maintain on a permanent basis three or four U.S. aircraft-carrier groups in the Norwegian Sea right up to the areas bordering on the Soviet Union. The plan meant the deployment of 120-160 nuclear-capable planes and sea-launched cruise missiles in the region.

The Scandinavians' doubts and worries were further fuelled by the deployment of U.S. "Eurostrategic weapons" in Western Europe. Cruise missiles, it turned out, would fly over Sweden and Finland on their way to targets. The Scandinavians realized that the shadow of the nuclear sword of Damocles hanging over Europe was growing darker and that the hair by which it was hanging was becoming increasingly frayed.

Political debates on a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe were given renewed impetus by the Soviet Union's initiatives, proposals and unilateral steps aimed at defusing both world and regional tension. In 1978 the U.S.S.R. stated that it would never use nuclear weapons against states which renounced the production and acquisition of those weapons and would not have any in their territories, and offered a treaty to this effect to any country willing to do so. In the same year the Soviet Union tabled at the United Nations a draft international convention on strengthening security guarantees to non-nuclear states. The Soviet Union's unilateral renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons in 1982 also played a significant role.

Last but not least, there came important Soviet initiatives with regard to a possible nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. In 1983 the U.S.S.R. stated its readiness to renounce the use of nuclear weapons against any state in the region if such a zone were established there. The security of those states would be strengthened if the NATO countries gave similar guarantees — but the U.S.S.R. did not make its commitment conditional on these. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. expressed its readiness to take a number of substantial measures in its own territory immediately adjacent to a nuclear-free zone and discuss with interested countries the possibility of making the Baltic nuclear-free (which would coincide with the wishes of many Scandinavians).

All these factors put together have

had their impact on debates in the Scandinavian countries.

"To Work Actively"

Interest in the establishment of a zone has grown considerably and numerous anti-nuclear groups have been formed. The organization Treaty Now, which has members in all the Scandinavian countries, is playing a prominent role in the campaign.

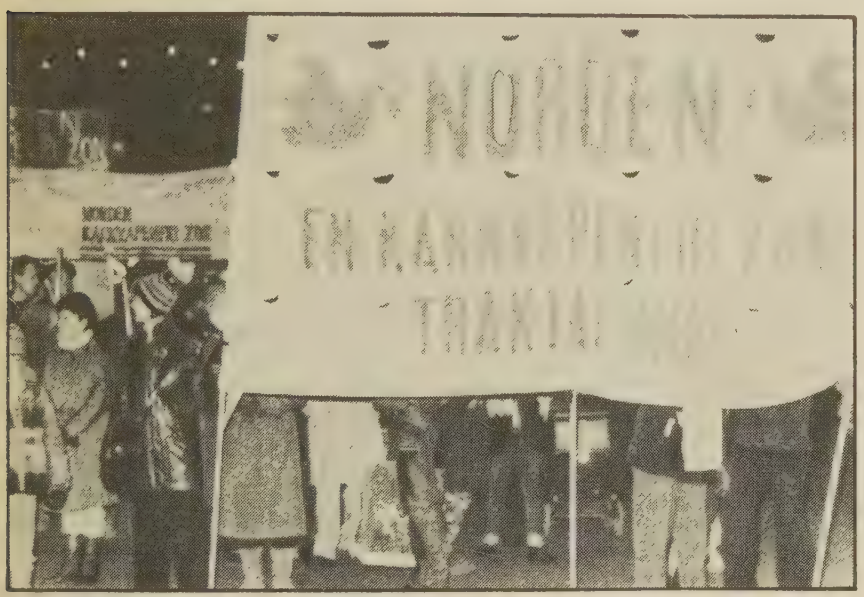
In November 1985 North European parliamentarians met for their first conference on the subject, which was sponsored by the Danish Social Democrats. The very fact that the conference was convened demonstrated that the idea could no longer be ignored, it was staring politicians in the face. The Danish Parliament, for instance, obliged the government of the country "to work actively" for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone.

Shortly before the opening of the conference, the massive bulk of the U.S. nuclear-capable battleship Iowa appeared in Copenhagen harbour. Washington was brandishing a mailed fist at its allies, telling them to give up the very thought of a nuclear-free zone. The allies meekly bowed to pressure.

The Norwegian government did not even send delegates to Copenhagen, instead commissioning a team of experts to study the question. The experts produced a report, according to which the establishment of a nuclear-free zone was unrealistic unless general problems relating to disarmament were resolved: first rid Europe of nuclear weapons and only then announce a nuclear-free zone in the region.

The opponents of the idea also came up with other "arguments." An isolated zone would only destabilize the region and it would be difficult to verify the observance of its status (all too familiar tunes from the other side of the ocean); furthermore, why formalize the zone legally if there are no nuclear weapons in it today, in peacetime?

These views were aired at the conference as well. Former Danish Premier Anker Joergensen, however, disagreed. He said in an interview to Swedish Dagens Nyheter that the establishment of a nuclear-free zone was tantamount to opening a door to the relaxation of world tension. The zone, he believed, would help keep Northern Europe safe from dangerous world developments.



Treaty Now members and most of the population of the region want a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.
Photo from the newspaper Norrskensflamman (Sweden)

But who has the keys to the door? First and foremost, the North European countries themselves. Despite different views on ways of tackling the problem, delegates at the conference were unanimous that first of all it was necessary to work out a common stand and then to formulate a joint initiative on talks with the Soviet Union on such a zone. The U.S.S.R. is prepared to enter such talks, whether multilateral or bilateral, with any of the countries concerned. It is also prepared to give the relevant guarantees. However, the North European countries have so far been unable to agree on a common position.

Creating Stumbling Blocks

The Finnish newspaper Suomenmaa says: "The main obstacle to the implementation of the proposal is the position of the U.S. and its NATO allies, which prevents NATO countries from assuming non-nuclear status or obstructing the use of nuclear weapons in their territories in 'conflict situations.'" NATO does not explain its concept of a "conflict" (or "crisis") situation. NATO strategists are trying to scare Norway and Denmark with the threat that the alliance will not "defend" them as soon as they join a nuclear-free zone. The Atlanticists are obviously overstating the case: that Oslo, Copenhagen and Reykjavik may leave NATO is not implicit in their joining such a zone. They can participate in it and remain members of NATO. Washington and NATO, naturally, would have to revise their offensive strategy in this case, which they refuse to do. That is why Oslo and Copenhagen insist that the possible establishment of a nuclear-free zone should be discussed only within the Atlantic alliance. NATO's stand on the matter remains unchanged, and the vicious circle cannot be broken.

As regards guarantees from nuclear powers, some Scandinavian governments often demand from the U.S.S.R. concessions which would amount to unilateral disarmament. They also ask the Soviet Union under plausible pretexts to disclose the measures it would be prepared to take with regard to its own territory. The desire of the North European countries to have their region "an island of stability" in the rough seas of today's world is understandable. But is it logical to demand that the U.S.S.R. should put all its cards on the table, while asking nothing of NATO?

The Copenhagen conference did not adopt any final document. In fact, this was one of the conditions of its convocation. Yet the results of the forum are encouraging: it has undoubtedly given renewed impetus to the movement for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone. Moreover, in a joint statement the North European Social Democratic parties called for the establishment of an interparliamentary working group and an intergovernmental group to consider problems involved in the establishment of such a zone. Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme believes that prospects for proclaiming a zone are better today than two years ago. He explains this optimism by the outcome of the Soviet-American summit, which could help improve the world situation. Anker Joergensen, for his part, points out the growing interest in the idea even among conservative parties, which is a new sign of change.

The question of establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe is long overdue, and it should be resolved in the interests of most people in the region.

D. POGORZHELSKY

THE LIGHTS OF CIENFUEGOS

Cubans call the city of Cienfuegos the pearl of the south. And indeed, for its beauty and location it stands out amongst the string of settlements that dot the island's southern coast. In Spanish, Cienfuegos means "a hundred fires." Historians say that a Spanish governor, who wanted to see his name immortalized, called the sity after himself. Be that as it may, the word Cienfuegos is associated today with the glow of the city's lights, and not with the erstwhile colonial ruler.

Before the revolution the lights of Cienfuegos attracted thousands of rich foreign tourists. Even in the mid-fifties, hotels, casinos and entertainment houses were still going up rapidly.

The Grapes of Wrath

Wealthy foreigners believed they could continue to exploit the island of paradise with impunity, for they had the patronage of the dictator Batista. They ignored the popular discontent that was growing apace with the soaring multistorey hotels.

On July 26, 1953, rumblings of the storming of Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba in the eastern part of the country reached Cienfuegos as young patriots led by Fidel Castro began an armed struggle against Batista's neocolonialist regime. Five and a half years later, on January 1, 1959, the revolution triumphed.

"And the very next year a Soviet tanker brought oil to Cuba for the first time. It moored not far from Cienfuegos," recalls Vicente Muñis, secretary of the provincial committee of the Cuban Communist Party. "How the City of a Hundred Fires rejoiced! The oil the Soviet Union gave us in those difficult days revived the island's sugar refineries, highways and railways. The first steps in the Cuban revolution produced an altogether different response in Washington: in April 1961, also near Cienfuegos, incidentally, U.S. mercenaries landed, and the Bay of Pigs battle began. And again Soviet oil was of great use to our tanks and lorries. In three days the uninvited guests had been thrown back into the sea."

Today the lights of Cienfuegos, spreading as they do for dozens of kilometres, are more dazzling than ever. But they are no longer the glitter of idle luxury against the background of a plundered and impoverished land. Today the name of the city sounds as a symbol of the rapid rejuvenation of Cienfuegos Province.

Fraternal socialist countries are actively participating in this creative work. The Soviet Union is helping to build an oil refinery, Cuba's biggest, on the outskirts of the city. A thermal power plant was built with Czechoslovak assistance, and the Karl Marx cement mill, with help from the G.D.R. Bulgarian specialists were involved in commissioning capacities for producing land reclamation equipment. Car repair shops, flour mills, food factories—all these are being put up with the help of fraternal countries. In short, Cienfuegos is constantly aware of the support of the working people of the socialist community, and their interest in the accelerated growth of the Cuban economy.

No. 1 Project

Cienfuegos Province is now unimaginable without Cuba's No. 1 project, as the first Cuban atomic power plant, being built near Juragua settlement with Soviet assistance, has come to be known here.

Alfonso Afon, one of the project's executives, is a man of medium height, with a sun-tanned and weather-beaten face. I first made his acquaintance three years ago. We talked in the foundation pit of the reactor section. The heat was

A NEW LEASE ON LIFE

Phou Phon considers himself fortunate: he survived in the grim years of reactionary rule and, having found himself in neighbouring Thailand after the fall of the Pol Pot regime, was able to see things in perspective.

The settlement where he was interned on the Kampuchean-Thai border was styled a "refugee camp" and run as a paramilitary concentration camp which the Khmer reactionaries used for their own ends. They even diverted humanitarian aid from various countries for their own use. Every such camp was virtually a microcosm of Pol Pot's "democratic" state which had ceased to exist.

"From early in the morning," Phou Phon says, "we were forced to build military installations. Late at night we underwent 'reeducation' which amounted to the intimidation of those who as much as toyed with the idea of returning home. Every attempt was exerted to demoralize inmates with ruthless violence and suppression and to make a cat's paw of them."

En Suot also crossed his Rubicon and realized that fighting his own people made no sense, and that moreover it was a crime. He decided to return to the land of his fathers. Before being sent on a sabotage mission from a Son Sann camp, he was issued a sheet of paper bearing a stamp and the following text: "Private En Suot of Zone 201 is hereby dispatched to Kampuchean territory. Date of deparature: ... Date of return to zone: ... Weapons: M-16 rifle. Transport: on foot. Signed: Chief of Staff, Zone 201."

A military document. A real, albeit undeclared, war. An American weapon. The crossing of the state frontier for the purpose of committing an act of sabotage. All this amounts to international terrorism.

En Suot crossed the border and surrendered to the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army.

"The subversive activities engaged in by the Khmer reactionaries whom our enemies take such great pains to foster are doomed to failure," says Khoi Kum Khua, secretary of the frontier Preahvihea Province People's Revolutionary Committee. His faith is well founded. In the years immediately following the overthrow of the bloody regime the

unbearable. "It's as hot as in a steam boiler," he complained. "Only this barrel of drinking water with ice cubes in it helps a little."

The start of the project, unique in the country, was far from easy, and not just because of the tropical heat. No such project had been undertaken in Cuba before. Everything had to be begun from scratch. Experience, know-how, and skilled personnel were lacking. This makes today's achievements particularly impressive. The construction site, with a solid material base, extends for dozens of hectares. Canals were laid to cool the power units with sea water. The giant reactor tower was erected, and now assembly work is in progress there, with equipment bearing the trademarks of many Soviet plants. It is remarkable that thousands of hitherto inexperienced youths, only recently peasant lads, now feel at home in this complex web of roads, trestles and pits.

"We have all now got the feel of our atomic plant and it has become part of our lives," Alfonso Afon said during our recent meeting.

Several minutes' drive along a bumpy concrete road lined with prickly thickets brought our jeep to the barrier at the entrance to the construction site. After it had lifted we made our way to the already functioning radiation-monitoring laboratory.

"Here equipment has been installed to monitor the future plant's effect on the environment," our guide told us. "We know that Soviet atomic power plants not only have advanced technology; they are harmless to man and nature. And our plant is no exception. The project provides for strict observance of all the necessary safety measures.

That Alfonso Afon should have touched upon the subject was by no means fortuitous. After construction started in Juragua the mass media in the U.S. and other Western countries launched a campaign to scare Latin Americans with the dangers with which the Cienfuegos project is allegedly fraught. The Cuban Communist Party newspaper Granma carried a series of articles refuting the fabrications. It described Soviet-designed atomic power plants which had already been built in other countries and the special service to control safety during construction and operation. Unlike the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union does not economize when it comes to preventing the adverse effects of such installations on the environment, the Granma articles underlined.

Joint Effort

Cuban and Soviet specialists in Juragua are concerned for the harmonious development of the country's economy and the well-being of the people as a whole. The opening of a centre where Soviet experts train personnel for the future atomic plant is their joint achievement.

Having made a tour of Juragua, we approached the Atomic Village, the settlement where Soviet specialists and their families live. We talked to three of them. Senior engineers Ivan Ustroyev and Victor Chernov are both 50. One of them worked at a thermal power plant in Chelyabinsk in the Ural Mountains, the other, at an engineering plant in Mytishchi, near Moscow. Nikolai Ganzhela, 39, was involved in the building of the South Ukrainian atomic power plant.

"We are enchanted by the riotous colours of the Cuban landscape and the hospitality of the people," Victor Chernov said. "At first I was afraid the language barrier would be a hindrance in my work. But here the usual drawings come in handy and we understand each other quite easily. My mate Miguel Palais can already do a considerable amount by himself. And with Osvaldo, the leader of an assembly team, we understand each other fairly well. We have already installed over a hundred units of sophisticated equipment."

"And my immediate partner, Carlos Hidalgo, an engineer from Havana, has a Soviet diploma," said Ivan Ustroyev. "We communicate without any difficulty, and discuss all our problems."

While we were talking, a dust-covered jeep pulled up on the square of the Atomic Village. Julio Trujillo, manager of the building trust and alternate member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, had come to see the Soviet specialists. Vladimir Orlovsky, head of the Soviet team, met the guest, and they joined in our conversation about international cooperation in Juragua and the plant's importance for the Cuban economy.

P. BOGOMOLOV

Havana

province was, perhaps, more frequently invaded by Pol Pot bands than any other part of the country.

"Now the worst is over," Khoi Kum Khua says.

What I saw in Kampuchea this time bore out his words. The people's conviction that tomorrow things will be better than today is based on the palpable fact that today they are better than yesterday. The dynamism of the young republic's social and economic progress is striking indeed. Pictures of Pnom Penh as I had seen it in January 1979 came back to me: fire-gutted buildings, streets strewn with paper money abolished by Pol Pot's "experimenters," a school turned into a medieval torture chamber.

The four years of the Pol Pot regime were the darkest in the nation's history. There is no erasing them from the memory of Kampucheans. And not only because Genocide Victims Commemoration Day has been observed in the republic since 1984. No Kampuchean family was spared death and mourning.

It is difficult to write about those times. The memories of the people who went through Pol Pot's inferno are like wounds that will not heal. However, the courageous people of Kampuchea have put their pain behind them and applied themselves conscientiously to their work, as I had ample occasion to see while on a tour of the republic which took me to farms, new industrial workshops, factories and schools.

The fifth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party discussed ways of intensifying the revolutionary process in all spheres of life. Those who heard the speakers at the Party forum were filled with pride for their nation which had managed to work a miracle and revive the country over a short period. Industrial output almost tripled as compared with 1980. The yield of rice and other food crops reached two million tons which is almost the prewar figure. There are over 100,000 farming cooperatives in the country. More than a half of the rubber plantations have been restored. The rapid development of the socialist system of education is a major achievement. At present, 95 per cent of children go to school, and eight higher and secondary specialized schools have opened. Thousands of young men and women are learning various professions in the fraternal socialist countries.

All this is only a beginning. The nation is now busy fulfilling its first five-year plan for social and economic development intended to effect radical changes for the better in all spheres of Kampuchean life.

E. FADEYEV

Pnom Penh

IGNORANCE, INCOMPETENCE AND CYNICISM

The total lack of action by British and Australian authorities to protect the Fifth Continent's aboriginal population from radioactive contamination is a demonstration of "ignorance, incompetence and cynicism," says a report recently published by the Royal Commission of Inquiry into British Nuclear Tests in Australia.

New Times has already featured London's exploitation of Australia as a nuclear proving ground in the 1950s. During those years British and Australian servicemen were used as guinea pigs to establish the combat worthiness of troops after a nuclear bombing, while no thought was given to evacuating the aborigines from the test area. According to the report, they "continued to move around and through the prohibited zone and inadequate resources were allocated to locating them and to ensuring their safety," while "reporting of sightings of aboriginal people were discouraged and ignored." The radioactive fallout covered nearly all of Australia. The inquiry has shown that radioactive contamination caused cancer amongst many Australians, including those living far from the test area. Further, the Maralinga and Emu test sites are, the report notes, still "excessively contaminated by nuclear materials such as plutonium and uranium." Though Maralinga was recently "returned" to the aborigines, it is uninhabitable. The Royal Commission is of the view that Britain must "conduct an immediate cleanup of the sites ... so that they are fit for habitation." It is also demanded that London compensate all servicemen who had no inkling that they were being used as guinea pigs by their British generals.

The Tory government is still keeping the question of compensation under wraps although it would not make serious inroads on the Treasury, as many to whom compensation is due are no longer amongst the living.

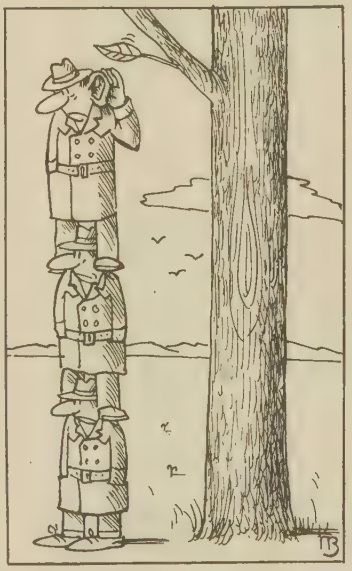
L. MIKHAILOV

GREEN WATERGATE?

Bundestag deputies representing the Greens in the Federal Republic of Germany have received a surprise Christmas gift. It appears that some of them are under the surveillance of the Federal Department for Safeguarding the Constitution. They are bugged or shadowed by the secret police wherever they go and with whomsoever they meet, and their telephones are tapped.

That the secret services keep files on peace campaigners, Left-wingers, and even those who visit socialist countries or receive mail from them is no surprise to F.R.G. citizens today. But for Bundestag deputies, enjoying full parliamentary privilege, to be shadowed takes the biscuit and is "within a hair's breadth of Watergate," the Süddeutsche Zeitung comments.

The secret police, we learn, were not acting of their own bat. Their actions were instigated by Carl-Dieter Spranger, CSU Parliamentary Secretary of State at the Ministry for Internal Affairs, a fact which has been confirmed by Stefan Pelny, deputy chief of the F.R.G. secret police. Spranger, it appears, asked for a report on links the Bundestag Greens supposedly have with terrorists, all because Jürgen Todenhöfer of CDU alleged that the Greens' leaders were 90 per cent anarchists, terrorists and Communists.



Bonn's ruling parties plainly think any means, fair or foul, appropriate to deal with opposition, even in parliament. Especially since it is winning increasing electoral support and today even has a minister in Hesse. With the Bundestag elections almost round the corner, the ruling parties are apparently none too sure of their prospects. Desirous of staying in office, they are even prepared to stoop to a "Greens Watergate."

N. ZHOLKVER

Cartoon by V. Peskov

CRYING "STOP THIEF!"

"We were able to take care of those missiles in a very efficient manner," General Moshe Levy, Israeli Army Chief of Staff, has told newsmen. He reminded his audience that during the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel struck at Syrian missile artillery. In defiance of every norm of international law, we may add. Now Syria is again threatened.

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1986 UNITED NATIONS YEAR OF PEACE

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WE.	1	8	15	22	29		5	12	19	26
TH.	2	9	16	23	30		6	13	20	27
FR.	3	10	17	24	31		7	14	21	28
SA.	4	11	18	25		1	8	15	22	
SU.	5	12	19	26		2	9	16	23	

	MARCH					APRIL				
MO.		3	10	17	24/31		7	14	21	28
TU.		4	11	18	25	1	8	15	22	29
WE.		5	12	19	26	2	9	16	23	30
TH.		6	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	
FR.		7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	
SA.	1	8	15	22	29	5	12	19	26	
SU.	2	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	27	

	MAY					JUNE				
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TH.	1	8	15	22	29		5	12	19	26
FR.	2	9	16	23	30		6	13	20	27
SA.	3	10	17	24	31		7	14	21	28
SU.	4	11	18	25		1	8	15	22	29

NEW TIMES

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ TEMPS NOUVEAUX
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FR.	4	11	18	25		1	8	15	22	29
SA.	5	12	19	26		2	9	16	23	30
SU.	6	13	20	27		3	10	17	24	31

	SEPTEMBER					OCTOBER				
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TH.	4	11	18	25		2	9	16	23	30
FR.	5	12	19	26		3	10	17	24	31
SA.	6	13	20	27		4	11	18	25	
SU.	7	14	21	28		5	12	19	26	

	NOVEMBER					DECEMBER				
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TH.		6	13	20	27	4	11	18	25	
FR.		7	14	21	28	5	12	19	26	
SA.	1	8	15	22	29	6	13	20	27	
SU.	2	9	16	23	30	7	14	21	28	

January 1—New Year; March 8—International Women's Day; May 1—Day of International Solidarity of Working People; May 9—Victory Day; October 7—Constitution Day; November 7—69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

CELLENCY S "SONS"

tad, ex-U.S. Ambassador to hora of scandalous memories for instance, his Fredrikstad startled Norwegians by an- U.S. had every right to inter- , be it Nicaragua or Norway, y there. He has also left the ed under the pretentious title hose brief is to Americanize

king in Fredrikstad, where otorious "lecture," is history erger. Though not a Com- ffiliated to any political st sympathies, which are ap- d calling of journalism. For s contributed to Social Dem- ft-wing Norwegian publica- t the history of the Norwe- movement and the U.S.S.R.'s liverance from nazi occupa-

s views and writings have "lodge" of the Sons of Nor- w was his criticism of the U.S. and of the Sons themselves. One Bernhard Hoel, a mugwump from the local "lodge," personally called on Berger and threatened to "beat him up in some dark alley," adding: "The day will come when we'll kill you and all your kind."

Berger notified the police, but they considered taking action beneath them. Night and day for several weeks he received anonymous telephone calls, advising him to withdraw his application to the police, "otherwise you and your wife will be killed. Our plans have been worked out to the last detail and only the time remains to be arranged." Though Berger again notified the police and gave them tapes of the threats, nothing at all was done.

"Whenever action against Right-wingers is needed," Berger says, "the police sit idle by. On the other hand, they squander substantial resources on tailing Left-wingers."

It is relevant in this connection that when he threatened Berger in a newspaper interview, Bernhard Hoel mentioned his "contacts" with the security police as well as the circumstance that the police themselves had long had their eyes on "Leftist" Berger and his articles. No wonder the Sons of Norway feel secure.

O. VAKULOVSKY

This photograph, reproduced from the Norwegian newspaper Friheten depicts (L to R): "lodge vice-president" Kare Martinsen, vendor of nazi flippery, H.E. the Ambassador himself, "lodge president" Tore Jacobsen, who served with the nazi occupation force during the past war, and finally Bernhard Hoel, who dreams of the day when it will be possible to "kill" people like schoolmaster Tor Inge Berger.

A sector of the Indian-Pakistani border, through which "Khalistanis" infiltrate into India.

From the magazine
India Today

Of course, he does not receive every Tom, Dick and Harry. According to the Times of India, a blue-eyed, bare-foot, pleasantly-mannered Sikh turns undesirables away. This "Sikh" does not hail from Punjab in India, which the separatists hope to turn into their own secessionist state, but from California. He takes the cause of "Khalistan" to heart, however. Why not, when "president" Chauhan has been received at the White House!

"We are looking for undeveloped territory," the Californian Sikh says, explaining the appearance of the "Khalistan representation" in Ecuador. However, the matter is apparently more than one of going into those "wide open spaces." In response to India's numerous demands Western countries appear to have adopted a tougher policy with respect to Sikh extremists operating from their respective territories. "Appear," we say, because the "tougher policy" is not infrequently just a scrap of paper. Take the school of sabotage run by a former mercenary in Canada. Though he is now training "Khalistanis," Canadian Minister of Justice Crosbie says this does not contravene national legislation. In Britain meanwhile Sikh extremists openly collect money to buy weapons.

Finally, besides the West, there is also Pakistan, where some dozen camps have been set up to train "Khalistanis" in sabotage.

Why then the Casa de Khalistan in Ecuador! Merely to corroborate the "tougher policy" version and camouflage behind the neon shingle in this distant Latin American country connivance with separatists elsewhere!

L. YELIN

mittingly in- ace to gather as forgotten n into other nly recently, ded it could rian air force e to engage ghters. Next, ty, Syria re- t missile ar- lers. The Sy- h explained: d to deploy y weapon it needs for defence." Tel Aviv immediately raised a hue and cry, claiming that Syria's action "impedes and prevents our freedom of flight in Lebanese skies," as General Moshe Levy put it. So that no one would entertain any doubt Dan Shomron, another general, announced that Zionist hawks had no intention of ceasing their flights over the sovereign state of Lebanon.

Imagine, a robber grumbling that he is being prevented from robbing. And Tel Aviv has accused Syria with aggression. But there is nothing new in that. It is by no means the first time that thieves have cried "Stop thief!".

D. ZGERSKY

SIKH FROM CALIFORNIA

They have now moved to Ecuador, and even opened in Quito the Casa de Khalistan, complete with neon shingle and triangular bright yellow flag. Though Jagjit Singh Chauhan, the "president of the republic of Khalistan," is up to now resident in London, the "deputy minister for defence of the government in exile," Balbir Singh Khalsa, already receives visitors in Quito.

Before, during and especially since the Geneva summit, U.S. politicians have been insisting that regional conflicts, not the arms race or the threat of the militarization of outer space, are the prime source of war danger. Why this contention from those who are themselves fanning the flames of conflict?

REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND WASHINGTON'S "GLOBALISM"

DMITRY VOLSKY

Has the world ever been tranquil and untroubled—free of strife and antagonism, without some seeking justice and others out to suppress it? Probably even in the most remote past there was no period of quiet and peace. Today too, against the background of the global nuclear threat hanging over mankind, the world is witnessing what happened hundreds and thousands of years ago: the oppressed peoples fighting for independence, the working masses to rid themselves of exploitation, and each individual for a better life tomorrow, or at least a life no worse than yesterday. This struggle is assuming particularly acute forms in the developing countries, which account for the majority of the world's population.

The Root Causes

Can it be said, then, that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was right when, addressing the London Pilgrims' Society in mid-December, he spoke with disquiet about "conflicts in the developing world that affect the stability of the international system"? "It goes without saying," he said, "that not all of these conflicts represent the division between East and West in miniature. But if there is any real danger of U.S.-Soviet confrontation, it is likely to originate in some crisis in the developing world—precisely because the central military balance in Europe is stable."

This is the kind of half-truth which is most misleading. For, first, the more stable the balance in Europe, the less the negative effect of regional crises on general security. Second, the extension of the complex and diverse East-West relations to the vast, turbulent, changing developing world is in itself fraught with uncontrollable consequences. Not to speak of the fact that this world has enough of its own difficult problems. The most dangerous of these are characteristic of most of these countries, wherever they may be located and how unlike they might be as regards customs and traditions. The Central American latifundists wear sombreros, not turbans, and celebrate Christmas, not Ramadan, but for them landed property is as untouchable as it is for the feudal landowners in the Moslem countries. And they deceive the illiterate peasants and kill not only representatives of the authorities, but also teachers, and blow up schools, as do the Afghan counter-revolutionaries.

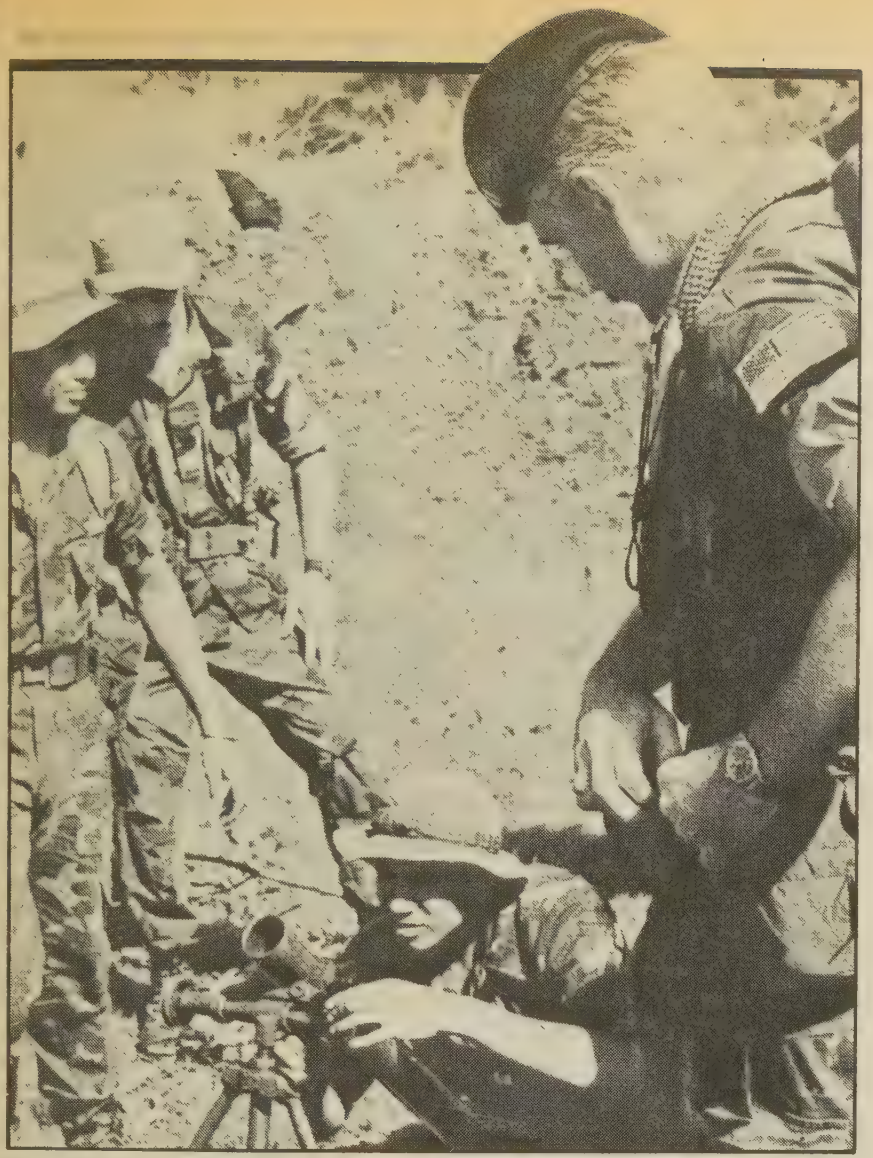
Needless to say, the social situation even in developing countries of similar orientation is by no means identical. Each has its own specific features. In Afghanistan, for instance, the April Revolution was accepted by far from all of even those in whose interests that revolution was carried out. And this is not surprising, considering the semi-feudal way of life, illiteracy and all manner of prejudices implanted in the course of the centuries. It will take time to overcome all this, just as much time and effort will be needed before tribalism, which poisons the atmosphere in many African countries, ceases to be a political factor.

Subversive pro-imperialist forces like the anti-Angolan UNITA organization, which relies on the support of such avowed enemies of all black Africans as the South African racists, take advantage of all this. As regards the South African rulers, they, with undisguised racist arrogance, are seeking to perpetuate their privileges by means of the most up-to-date techniques for the destruction of human life.

There is a characteristic interconnection here: the intensification of the terror against the African population of South Africa itself is invariably accompanied by aggressive attacks on its neighbours. As if by the law of communicating vessels! The end of 1985 offered fresh evidence of this. On almost the very same day and hour when the police staged a manhunt on demonstrators in the outskirts of Johannesburg and prepared to arrest Winnie Mandela, another group of armed white men, this time without uniforms or marks of rank, set out for the border of Lesotho. These were professional terrorists who had orders to kill several refugees. The orders were carried out. Meanwhile another frontier, between Namibia and Angola, was crossed for the nth time by regular South African forces sent to the aid of the UNITA bands.

This too suggests a parallel—with the actions of the Israeli expansionists, whose aggressiveness increases as tensions mount on the occupied Arab territories where the liberation movement is inevitably gaining momentum.

The peoples' desire for progress and independence cannot be suppressed by superiority in arms, by subversion, or by the debt noose in which many developing countries find themselves. Their overall indebtedness already runs to about $1 trillion. Clearly, they will never be able to pay that debt. Even the Latin American countries, including such big ones as Brazil and Mexico, which have made notable progress in industrial development, cannot hope to be able to pay their debt of $370 billion. Not to speak of the countries of Tropical Africa, which are still in the grip of utter backwardness. Yet Africa's debt burden has exceeded $150 billion. The countries of the continent's tropical zone, south of the Sahara, apart from being racked by an unprecedented



American "expert" on the job.

drought, have to pay annually nearly $13 billion in interest alone.

This money would be enough to provide the millions of starving people not only with bread and rice, but with meat as well. And in general, according to data released by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose experts can hardly be suspected of bias in favour of the dispossessed, there is enough food in the world to feed all of its inhabitants. "A lack of money rather than scarcity of food causes most famines," the World Bank study says. Yet money is being incessantly pumped out of the underprivileged countries through fettering loans by the very same World Bank in league with the International Monetary Fund. Or, to be more exact, by the monopolies, primarily the American, which hold in their hands the financial levers of collective neocolonialism.

Sheer robbery—and not only figuratively speaking but for many countries in the direct sense of the word—are the terms on which loans are granted by the IMF. The recipients are compelled to spend the money they get mostly to cover interest payments on old debts. Moreover, they are forced to cut subsidies for prime necessities, to freeze wages at a time of rampant inflation, to cancel social programmes, and to sell state-owned enterprises to private buyers and thereby increase unemployment —in a word, to make life altogether unbearable for sections of society whose conditions are far from easy as it is.

How can such forced austerity not increase social tension and give rise to regional conflicts? Especially where economic exploitation is compounded by national oppression, foreign occupation, or medieval survivals deliberately cultivated contrary to obvious development needs. Attempts to suppress the liberation struggle come up against legitimate resistance. All the more so if this struggle has already led to victory, which some now seek to cancel out by forcibly restoring the collapsed positions of imperialism and its stooges, again to fetter peoples who have had a taste of freedom and glimpsed a promise of a better life. Situations like this cannot but lead to bloodshed. Those who impel things in this direction have no moral right to talk about regional conflicts as a threat to peace.

"The root causes of such conflicts are multiform," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his report to the November session of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. "They are partly rooted in history, but above all in the social and economic conditions in which the newly liberated countries have been placed. It is not of course by chance that the U.S., in speaking of the problem of regional conflicts, passes over in silence the brutality of apartheid in South Africa, the aggression of that country against its African neighbours, the wars waged by the American puppets in Central America and in Southeast Asia, Israel's brigandage in the Middle East, and many other things. Washington seeks to equate the lawful governments of countries that have taken the road of national liberation and social progress with the counterrevolution."

Inconvenient Facts

Last summer representatives of this motley Third World counterrevolution gathered in a traditional thatch-roofed hut somewhere in Africa on an invitation from UNITA. They included leaders of the Nicaraguan contras, the Afghan dushmans and gentlemen of unidentified nationality from Southeast Asia. They were brought together by some American "private" organization operating as an unofficial agent of U.S. government services.

What exactly they agreed on is not known, but very soon afterwards dollars began to be showered on all the participants in the meeting. First, the Nicaraguan contras began to receive sums they previously could not have dreamed of, and not only through secret, but also through official channels. Even more lavishly financed were the Pakistan-based Afghan dushmans, for whom the U.S. Congress officially allocated $250 million, and shortly afterwards, according to press reports, gave a "secret" handout of $470 million for the purchase of armaments. The anti-Kampuchea forces received anything from five to ten million dollars. Lastly, the question was raised of openly funding UNITA. According to press reports, a relatively modest figure of $15 million was first mentioned, but soon it was doubled. And that only as an "initial contribution." According to data cited at the recent congress of the MPLA—Party of Labour, the contribu-

tion is to be increased tenfold, to the huge figure of $300 million.

And this for puppets of racist South Africa. By supporting them openly, Washington is setting itself against the whole of independent Africa. The New York Times rightly observed recently that this policy signified "remoteness from the realities on the ground: military, political, diplomatic, psychological." But, as the paper put it, "facts are inconveniences brushed aside" when it comes to the ideological postulates of the neoconservatives, who are out to shape the policy of the Republican Administration. Speaking of the "nationalist hero" UNITA headman Jonas Savimbi, one neoconservative leader remarked: "If Jonas Savimbi were an American citizen, he would be the presidential candidate of the conservative movement in 1988."

Absurdities like this are not simply wisecracks. There is a design behind them. Just because the undeclared war against Angola is in the view of the U.S. public the most controversial of such wars since the U.S. is involved here as a direct ally of the racist regime of South Africa, the idea is to use it as something of a touchstone. As a New York Times Washington correspondent wrote, "conservatives plan to make aid for Angolan rebels their primary foreign policy objective in 1986." Just as was the case with the Panama Canal agreements and the SALT 2 treaty. The question is bluntly posed of the violent overthrow of the "Marxist government" of Angola with whom Washington has diplomatic relations and U.S. companies, for instance, Gulf Oil in Cabinda, have profitable dealings.

And that is not all. There are those who call for the toppling of the government in Mozambique, although that country is considered to be more acceptable to Washington. The object is clear. If the U.S. is assuming such functions in Africa, what can be expected of it in its Central American "backyard" or in areas adjoining the frontiers of the socialist community which could be used as springboards. Here really no holds are barred.

In American political jargon this course is indicatively called "the new globalism." News analyst Anthony Lewis says: "The concept is this: the United States should intervene in wars in Third World countries whenever there is a chance to fight Soviet or Marxist influence. It should do so all around the world, without regard to particular local conditions." This should be done, the government holds, preferably through the agency of others wherever possible. The "freedom fighters" opposed to the Communists must be given moral support, money and arms. But not backed with troops. This is the substance of the "Reagan doctrine," the F.R.G. Die Zeit observes. But how safe is it to give a free hand to the "others"?

Not Only the Middle East

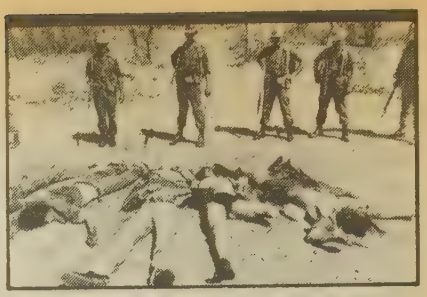
For instance, in the Middle East. After the unsuccessful Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Washington's fake "peace-keeping" exercise and the eruptions of terrorism and other stormy events, Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin began speaking of preparations for a new war. But he cautiously avoided specifying against what country. As experience has shown, the target could be most unexpected. Recall the air raids on a Baghdad suburb and the PLO headquarters in Tunis. Now PLO circles have been informed that Israel may strike at "Palestinian targets" in Sudan and North Yemen.

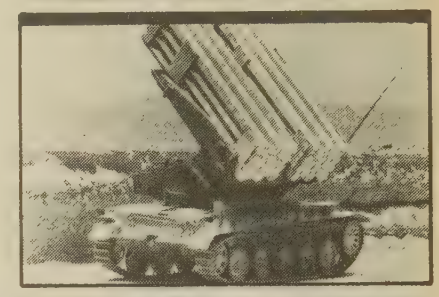
In effect, the United States' "strategic ally" has trained its sights on the entire vast area between the Indian and Atlantic oceans. But most dangerous of all is the possibility of the senior partner being involved in the hostilities. The shelling of the Lebanese coast from the sea and the landing there of U.S. Marines in 1982 showed how easily this could happen. And it is even easier now when the U.S. military infrastructure in the Middle East has become considerably more ramified since the beginning of the eighties. Suffice it to mention the U.S. Central Command, in the sphere of whose operations 19 Southwest Asian and Northeast African countries have been officially included since 1983. In the initial period the U.S. military did not attach too much importance to Centcom and the Rapid Deployment Force subordinated to it, regarding them as something in the order of scarecrows, "exhibits from Disneyland." In the past three years, however, the new command has been built up into a tangible military force. It now has at its disposal 6 combat divisions, 3 carrier task forces, 7 tactical air force squadrons, B-52 bombers, special-duty forces and commandos, altogether 307,000 men.

Against whom is this armoured fist to be used? According to information that percolated into the press from U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger's latest annual report, whereas formerly the main task of the Rapid Deployment Force was said to be "to prevent the spread of Soviet influence," now "preservation of the stability in the region" had been added.

Does this apply only to the Middle East? The U.S. News and World Report, which is known to be close to Weinberger's department, predicts that very soon Washington will have no choice but to dispatch troops to protect its bases in the Philippines. It is no secret that in Central America everything has already been prepared for U.S. armed intervention in Nicaragua, for which a rehearsal was staged two years ago in Grenada. And can it be considered a matter of chance that one of the organizers of the invasion of Grenada, Admiral Poindexter, who is generally regarded as an advocate of the "use of armed forces to resolve political problems," was named the President's National Security Adviser? Incidentally, his first move in his new capacity was to undertake a tour of a number of Central American countries.

In any case it is undeniable that the policy of countering "Soviet" or "Marxist" influence in the Third World at all costs amounts in practice to fanning regional conflicts and, subsequently, to





EL SALVADOR. Another wholesale killing of patriots.

ISRAEL. With Washington's blessing Israel supplies weapons to many reactionary regimes. This Israeli-made rocket launcher is intended for use in the "export of counterrevolution."

SOUTH AFRICA. "End apartheid" is the demand of these anti-racist demonstrators in Durban.

intensifying American direct interference in these conflicts. More, it leads to U.S. military intervention, inasmuch as it is becoming increasingly difficult for the U.S. to achieve its ends through the agency of others. The imperialists are bent on social revenge on both regional and global scale, they are bent on checking and even reversing the normal march of events. Hence the aggravation of conflict situations in different regions. And this of course cannot but increase international tension in general. It would therefore have been more in place for Secretary of State Shultz to have addressed to Washington his exhortation "to contain these regional conflicts" and "to help to resolve them."

Duplicity

We have thus returned to the Shultz speech to the Pilgrims' Society. Behind the rhetoric the duplicity of the U.S. concept of regional conflicts can be discerned.

First, about the "danger of U.S.-Soviet confrontation" as a result of "some crisis in the developing world." Who extended the sphere of operations of Centcom all the way to the Soviet frontiers, moreover for hundreds of kilometres? The growing support given by Washington to the dushmans sent into Afghanistan is only one of the destabilizing factors in this strategically important zone. Is not stability shaken also by the massive supply of arms to the Pakistani military regime, which is in a state of permanent confrontation not only with its neighbours, but with the majority of the population of its own country, including the large tribes in the northwest, and is reaching out to the nuclear bomb besides?

Or take the Iranian-Iraqi war. Washington does not like to recall this, but the fact remains that the Americans themselves, and specifically Zbigniew Brzezinski who circulated deliberately explosive misinformation in the Middle East, helped to provoke it. Now Brzezinski's successors do not conceal the fact that they see in this protracted war definite advantages for themselves. These were described by a former U.S. ambassador to a Persian Gulf country thus: the strengthening of the domination of the mullahs in Iran along with the "neutralization of the export of the Islamic revolution," on the one hand, and the restriction of political freedom of action for Iraq, on the other. Is this not an irresponsible approach to the situation in a region for which the U.S. generals themselves three years ago drew up a "scenario for escalation"? According to this "scenario," the dispatch of the U.S. Fleet to the Persian Gulf was to be followed in 125 days by general mobilization in the NATO countries. Thus, the danger of the spread of regional conflicts, of their detonation does exist. But it is created not by the conflicts as such and even not so much by possible fatal concatenations of circumstances as by the imperial policy of the United States.

Second, from the Shultz speech it follows that the U.S. by no means rules out the possible use of methods already tried out in the Third World and in other areas. In his address to the London Pilgrims he sought, according to the New York Times, to persuade the United States' European allies to support Washington policy with regard to Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea and now Angola. If it is thus considered in place publicly to propound "creeping aggression" against legitimate, internationally recognized governments of some countries, what guarantee is there that an exception will be made in the case of others? This roughly was the inner logic of the London speech. And it can hardly be considered a mere coincidence that a few days later, speaking in West Berlin, Shultz openly questioned the existing political realities not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also in Europe.

Third, it is becoming increasingly clear that the U.S. efforts to carry East-West relations over to regional conflicts by making these conflicts the principal international problem divert the attention of the public away from the paramount task facing all humanity today—that of preventing a nuclear war, terminating the arms race on Earth and preventing it from spilling over into outer space.

What Is to Be Done?

Clearly, the regional conflicts must be settled. But the settlement must not run counter to the aspirations of the peoples, to the interests of international security. All the more so since the two are inseparably linked. The ideas advanced by the U.S. latterly bear this out—by the rule of contraries. Essentially, these ideas boil down to a thinly veiled demand that the progressive Third World governments capitulate to the so-called "democratic opposition" fostered by U.S. imperialist circles, or at any rate make unilateral concessions all along the line, from the gradual transfer of effective power into the hands of counterrevolutionary forces to the return to "the world economy" and to "the family of free nations" of which President Reagan spoke in his speech at the United Nations.

The meaning of all this hardly needs deciphering. We know—not from speculative constructions but from practical politics—instances of such "returns," from that of Pinochet to that of Sadat. The latter instance graphically showed that the capitulationist models of settlement do not strengthen, but on the contrary undermine international security, increase the danger of new local conflicts. It will be remembered that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon began a little more than a month after the stationing of U.S. troops in the Sinai in conformity with the Camp David agreements.

The peace forces advance altogether different platforms for the settlement of regional disputes. The proposal for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the sides concerned, the proposals of the Indo-China countries for normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia, the initiatives of the Afghan leadership for talks with neighbouring countries and now also for a broad dialogue within the country, or, say, the peacemaking efforts of the Contadora group in Central America—all these are based on the principles of justice, and hence are fully realistic, if policies are viewed in historical perspective.

"We stand for the recognition of the inalienable right of every nation to freedom and independence, to choose its path as it sees fit," Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech at the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet session. "We hold that this right must not be trampled by anyone, that there must be no attempts at interference from without, that freedom, not tyranny, should triumph. We have always sided and will continue to side with peoples upholding their independence. This is our principled policy."

Washington of course adheres to the opposite principles. But recognition of the realities have never done anyone any harm. What has always been harmful is to ignore the realities in pursuance of futile imperial ambitions. ■

Assuming the guise of an immigrant worker, the well-known journalist Günter Wallraff himself experienced what it is like to be one of the army of "guest workers" in the F.R.G. His account of his experiences has created a furore.

"SLAVES WERE TREATED BETTER"

From Our Own Correspondent
ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN

A session of the federal CDU committee, or the "small party convention," as they also call it, recently ended in Bonn. In view of the forthcoming international Human Rights Day it was decided to adopt a special resolution.

The Christian Democratic Union likes to call itself the human rights party. It, therefore, upholds freedom and inviolability of the individual and, of course, freedom of speech. The resolution reads in part:

"Conditions of life, which are humiliating to man, want, poverty and hunger are also incompatible with human dignity."

It would appear that after a declaration of this kind the committee would start discussing the observance of human rights in the F.R.G. But the authors of the resolution do not regard this as a matter for discussion, because it appears that the citizens of the F.R.G. "live in the freest state that has ever existed in the history of Germany." The CDU is concerned only about other countries. CDU politicians have found "more than 100 countries" where the human rights situation fails to meet Bonn standards.

On the eve of Human Rights Day the 600-seat assembly hall of the local Realschule in Hattingen, the Ruhr, was overcrowded. The audience was made up mainly of German and Turkish immigrant workers from the local Thyssen works. However, there were also a few who had come from the nearby towns of Bochum and Essen. They had all gathered to hear Günter Wallraff, writer and journalist—author of "In the Abyss," a book about the conditions of immigrant workers in the F.R.G. Though the organizers of the meeting had warned the audience that it would open at least half an hour late, nobody left, despite the late hour and the fact that many would have to go to work on the early morning shift.

When Günter Wallraff appeared, he was met with applause. Offering his apologies, he explained he was late because he had taken part in a demonstration in Oelde. Herr Schmänk, the mayor, had ordered that Günter Wallraff's book be withdrawn from the public library as, he said, it had been compiled by "unlawful methods." The CDU faction on the town council upheld the mayor's decision.

"This was not the first time my books had been banned," Günter Wallraff said. "They have been withdrawn from many Bundeswehr libraries. Extremist Right-wing officers say I do not belong to the 'democratic tradition' of writers. Schmänk is not alone. High-ranking CDU/CSU politicians are sparing no effort to neutralize the influence of my book on society."

"Like an Animal"

In March 1983 Günter Wallraff placed an advertisement in the papers: "Alien, physically strong, looking for work, any work, even hard and dirty, for any pay." This was the beginning of a life in the abyss of German society. It lasted two and a half years. He passed himself off as Ali Levent Sigirlioglu, an immigrant Turkish worker.

It was not the first time Günter Wallraff had changed his name and appearance. He wore a mask to strip masks from the faces of others. He had posed as a worker on an assembly line at a motor works; as the owner of a napalm plant confessing his sins to a priest; as a high-ranking official collecting information on factory "guard squads" intended to deal with the workers; as a doorman at Gerling, a big insurance company, and as a lot of other people. As Hans Esser, journalist, he had worked for several months on Bild-Zeitung, a Springer publication, and written two books exposing the methods it used to brainwash its readers.

Wallraff said it occurred to him to step into the shoes of an immigrant Turkish worker ten years ago. But he put this intention off for a long time. "Perhaps," the writer admitted, "it was because I knew what I would be in for. I simply feared the prospects. From what I had heard from my friends and from what I had read, I had formed an idea of the life of aliens earning a living in the Federal Republic of Germany. I knew that almost one in two young immigrants suffered from mental disorders. They could not bear the tribulations that beset them. They have practically no chance on the labour market. For those who have grown up in the F.R.G. it is almost impossible to return to the country of their birth. They are people without a homeland."

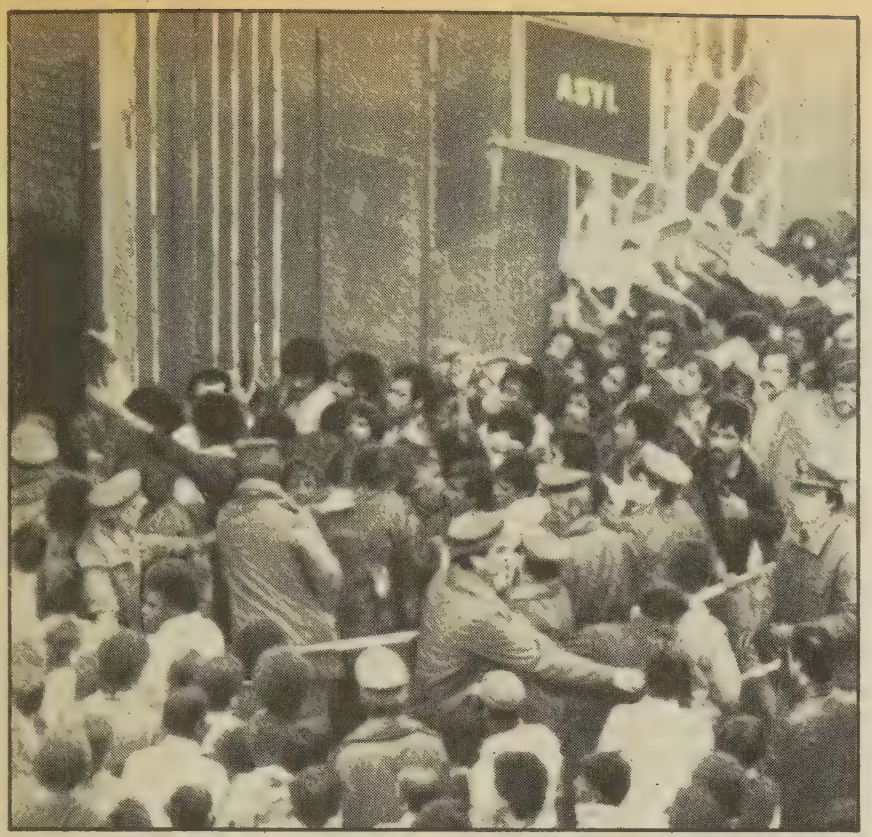
The reality proved to be even worse than Günter Wallraff had expected. Some of the things he encountered are found only in books about 19th-century history.

Ali-Wallraff would be hired only to do dirty and sometimes dangerous manual work. And only for a bare pittance. In Cologne he joined a team engaged in repairing stables. While everybody else worked on the ground, Ali had to paint boards balancing on the scaffolding. The other workers ignored him, while the woman owner would only issue brief orders: "Do this! Do that!" Once, when something was lost, suspicion fell on Ali.

A woman farm owner who hired him in Lower Saxony kept him "like an animal."

Ali had to work cleaning ditches 10 hours a day for board and lodging. In

Ali-Wallraff was employed only for the hardest and dirtiest jobs.



In Britain, France, the F.R.G. and West Berlin—in the whole of Western Europe in fact—immigrant workers are subjected to the harshest exploitation. They are treated as second-class citizens. Above: A common scene in West Berlin. People from Asia, Africa and the Middle East seek shelter for the night.

fact he had no lodging, because the farm owner said he could sleep either in the cowshed or in a half-rusted car body, although there were several vacant rooms in the house. However, Ali preferred to sleep on an abandoned building site. He was told not to appear in the village, because nobody should know that a Turkish labourer was working on the farm.

In Hamburg Ali got a job at a McDonald's restaurant. He would clean the premises, wipe the tables, wash the toilets and sweep the street in front of the entrance. The length of the working day was determined by the manager. It is McDonald's policy not to employ trade union members. Some years ago the McDonald's personnel chief had circulated definite instructions to subsidiary managers: "If you see that an applicant is a union member, promise to inform him of your decision in a few days' time. Of course, to employ him is out of the question."

Ali felt he was regarded with cold contempt wherever he went. Nobody would sit next to him on a bus, even if it was overcrowded. He would get no service in a cafeteria. In Straubing, Bavaria, he tried to earn some money grinding a street organ. However, the notice, "Jobless Turk, 11 years in Germany. Would like to remain here," aroused no sympathy. Summing up, the writer states: "If I had really only been Ali, I would scarcely have managed to survive."

Günter Wallraff encountered outright manifestations of hatred. There were times when he feared for his life. In the summer of 1983 he went to a football match between the F.R.G. and Turkey at a stadium in West Berlin. He found himself seated amongst neonazis who constantly shouted:

"Sieg heil!"

"Turks out!"

"Germany for the Germans!"

They hurled cigarette butts at him and poured a mug of beer down his collar. Fortunately the F.R.G. team won, so there was no real fighting at the stadium. Commenting on this, Wallraff writes: "I am anything but a football fan. But this time I cheered for the German team, because I was frightened."

People Farmed Out

"In the Abyss" was a bestseller overnight. In a month and a half more than a million copies were sold. Its success was unprecedented in the F.R.G. Nobody, even the author himself, had expected it. What was the reason for it? The daily newspaper Zeit seems to have hit the nail on the head in saying: "In our society and the culture representing it truth is obviously in short supply. Wallraff's book has filled the vacuum."

A Turkish worker who had come to the meeting with the writer in Hattingen said to me: "I have been working at the Thyssen plants in the F.R.G. for 12 years and I can say that everything Wallraff has described in his book is true. In the evenings I translate his book to my mates who cannot read German. However, the book is to come out in Turkish soon. We have ordered several thousand copies."

In the office of the Construction and Industrial Assembly Work Company (GBI) in Düsseldorf Ali-Wallraff saw a poster which read: "This firm hires workers in compliance with the rules!" However, nobody asked Ali or any of the other jobless applicants for their papers or even their names. They were only told they would be sent to build multistoreyed apartment houses in Cologne. As for conditions, they learned in the bus that the foreman wanted them to work 10 hours a day.

With the temperature at more than 30°C, Ali and his fellow workers carried concrete slabs to the sixth floor. Immigrant workers were cheaper than machines. The foreman saw to it that nobody remained "idle for too long."

Despite its name GBI has nothing to do with either construction or assembly work. It only employs workers, mainly immigrants, to farm them out to other firms. Ali was taken on by Walter Thosti Boswau (WTB), one of the biggest local firms.

Alfred Keitel, owner of GBI, got 22-35 marks per hour for each worker he hired out to other companies. He paid the workers only a fraction of that. Günter Wallraff calculated that Keitel made from 70,000 to 125,000 marks per day. Keitel would cynically declare: "You can always squeeze something out of aliens. They work for cheap money."

GBI is one of 4,000 firms engaged in this illegal labour traffic. Since 1982 farming out of labour in the building industry has been officially prohibited, because tens of thousands of skilled workers have lost their jobs as a result of the crisis that has struck the industry. Despite this, the illicit business is flourishing. Approximately 200,000 Turks, Pakistanis, Yugoslavs and Greeks are working illegally at building sites in the F.R.G. It should be mentioned that not only private persons have been enlisting the services of the latter-day slave traders. Such labour was used for the construction of the Bundeswehr barracks, buildings for the labour exchange in Munich, the parliament in North Rhine-Westphalia in Düsseldorf and the Federal Post Ministry in Bonn.

In all sectors other than construction, hiring out of labour is officially permit-

ted. Thyssen, Mannesmann, MAN and other big concerns have been using such labour in increasing proportions, while dismissing their personnel on grounds of redundancy. For instance, since 1974 Thyssen has laid off 17,000 workers. Their work is being done by slave labour supplied by 400 "subcontractors." One of these is Unternehmen Remmert which specializes in the "removal of all kinds of dirt." And Unternehmen Remmert in turn receives "livestock" from an entrepreneur by the name of Vogel.

Having lost his job in Cologne, Ali-Wallraff fell into Vogel's hands. He and his mates removed coke dust from equipment. ("The air is so dusty that you cannot even see your own hands. You not only inhale dust, but also swallow and eat it. It all but suffocates you. Every breath is a torture," he was to write in his book.) Then, working with a pick in a cruel icy wind he chipped off dirt that had frozen onto the huge pipes. He painted fences and cleaned dirt from an oxygen plant at a height of 50 metres above ground level.

Farmed-out hands were not issued masks, and not only to save money. The employers found that without a mask a worker did his job more quickly in order to get a breath of fresh air sooner. Günter Wallraff quoted a Tunisian fellow worker as saying: "Slaves were treated better. They had some value, and the owners wanted them to last as long as possible. As far as our bosses are concerned, they don't care if something happens to us. There are plenty of others waiting for a chance to work."

Wallraff collected a handful of the dust the workers at the Thyssen works inhaled every day and sent it to Bremen University for laboratory testing. The test showed that the dust contained 25 heavy metals, including such highly dangerous ingredients as mercury and lead. This explained why many of Wallraff's mates complained about difficulty in breathing, nausea, lack of appetite and circulatory disorders. At the Thyssen plants farmed-out workers were not entitled to medical checkups. The writer himself contracted chronic bronchitis. In the past for a man of over 40 Wallraff had performed rather well in the marathon (he only had to improve his time by two minutes to qualify for the F.R.G. championship). In contrast, today he can hardly run for 20 minutes slowly.

Farmed-out hands were frequently forced to work two, and sometimes even three, shifts at a stretch. No wonder the incidence of accidents soared. A short while ago a welder doing a repair job on a rolling mill fell from a great height, crashed to the floor and died. But his case was not entered in the Thyssen mortality records, because officially the man had been on the payroll of a subcontracting firm.

Franz-Josef Strauss gives his autograph to the sham envoy of the Turkish fascist leader.
Photos from Günter Wallraff's book "In the Abyss" and the journal Quick (F.R.G.)

In the F.R.G. entrepreneurs take advantage of the widespread practice of hiring out labour to attack the social achievements of working people. At the meeting in Hattingen Wallraff read aloud a confidential letter that had fallen into his hands. It came from the owner of a lawfully operating firm.

"We have abolished many of the privileges your employees had won over the past few fat years," he wrote.

What did these "privileges" add up to? Free overalls, medical checkups, sick leave allowances, paid annual leave, and a "thirteenth wage" for Christmas. Farmed-out hands are not entitled to them. "With our help your employees too have understood that they can be easily replaced," the slave trader wrote in the letter.

And they are being replaced. Willi Tatge, member of the Bundestag for the Green Party, recently reported the following case to parliament. Having unsuccessfully negotiated for higher wages and better working conditions with the administration over a period of many months, the workers at a car radio factory finally went on strike. The administration applied to a contracting firm which immediately supplied 50-odd strikebreakers. Many of them were from Britain.

Government spokesmen and ruling party leaders frequently condemn the "abuses" of labour subcontractors, but flatly reject the demand of democratic organizations to impose a legislative ban on this traffic in people. Wolfgang Schulhoff, member of the Bundestag for the CDU and himself an entrepreneur, declared that they could not resort to "unnecessary bans" just because there were "a few black sheep." "Our industrial society needs more flexibility in all spheres of the economy," he concluded.

Franz-Josef Strauss' Autograph

Günter Wallraff knew that the advocates of "free enterprise" would never forgive him for his exposures. They would do their utmost to compromise him and his book. He warned his opponents that he was ready to fight. To this end he provided the book with an unusual addendum which read: "In view of expected suits, new chapters have been prepared based on unpublished material to ensure the uninterrupted publication of the book."

Wallraff was right. The book having created visible confusion among the reactionaries, Westdeutsche Zeitung of Düsseldorf fired the first round. The paper accused Wallraff of falsifying a snapshot of an annual political festival the Christian Social Union held at Passau in the first week of Lent. In the book the photograph shows Ali-Wallraff sitting next to two colourful Bavarians. The paper claimed the photo was composed of two snapshots.

Munich TV picked up the allegation. They announced a programme entitled "Is Wallraff Guilty of Falsification?" To get a "sequence," Günter von Lojewski, the TV commentator who is close to CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss, arrived in Frankfort on the Main with his cameramen to cover a meeting between Wallraff and his readers arranged by the trade unions. However, von Lojewski got nothing for his pains. The writer informed the audience about the intended provocation and proposed, in keeping with procedures adopted at trade union meetings, to decide by a majority vote whether or not to permit the meeting to be televized. Practically everybody voted against, and Lojewski and his team were forced to withdraw.

On the following day the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, which had remained silent about the withdrawal of Wallraff's book from the library in Oelde, accused the writer of "an attempt on the freedom of radio and television" and "aggressive suppression of the free expression of opinion."

Nevertheless, von Lojewski's programme went out. It was mainly about the same photograph. The conclusion was significant: "Wallraff claims he has written a documentary. But has he not represented reality as he wishes to see it?" In other words: Isn't the whole book a fraud?

Neither von Lojewski nor Franz-Josef Strauss, the man behind him, are concerned about the authenticity of the photograph. In the chapter on the CSU

festival Wallraff gives the story of how he was immediately introduced to the CSU leader, as soon as he announced himself as an envoy from Türkes, the Turkish fascist leader. Several years ago Türkes, an enthusiastic admirer of Hitler, had met Franz-Josef Strauss in private. And now the Bavarian Minister-President extended a cordial welcome to an envoy from the Turkish fascist. The host tapped him on the shoulder and autographed a booklet about himself: "To Ali, with cordial greetings. Strauss." Both the photograph of the scene and Strauss's autograph are reproduced in Wallraff's book. Neither leaves any room for doubt about the authenticity of the documents. That was why von Lojewski clutched at the version circulated by Westdeutsche Zeitung.

Wallraff sued the paper himself. Having submitted the negatives of the photos and the videofilm to court, he won the case. He also won the suit Alfred Keitel, former owner of GBI, had filed against him. Vogel, another character in the book, changed his mind. He refrained from taking Wallraff to court.

Thus, the first wave of assaults was beaten off. A demonstration in Oelde proved fruitful too. By a majority vote the town council ruled that Wallraff's book be returned to the library. It is true that the mayor Schmänk continued to uphold his original view.

These developments do not mean that the campaign against the writer is over. The Springer press—the heavy artillery of reaction—is suspiciously quiet. It is hard to believe that Bild-Zeitung has given up looking for a pretext to settle old scores with "Hans Esser." Strauss has not had his say either.

Wallraff is continuing to work on the material he collected during his descent to the abyss of society. He always carried a videocamera in a specially designed bag and shot 80 cassettes of film. And now he wants to produce a television film. He has founded an immigrant workers' solidarity fund to which he has donated the larger part of his fees and royalties. Work for the fund will also take up much of his time.

For understandable reasons the writer has not given details of his plans for the more distant future. However, one thing is clear, namely that he will write more books and remain true to his methods of work.

"If our society were really democratic," Wallraff says, "I would have been a lyric poet. I am a man who is naturally contemplative. But while society remains what it is today, I cannot stand aloof from it. While I have the physical and spiritual strength, I shall not give up my way of writing."

Bonn

Human rights under intensifying attack in the U.S.

IN THE DOCK FOR THEIR CONVICTIONS

BORIS KOZLOV

The trial of 11 believers in the U.S. has entered its second month: Protestants and Catholics have been placed in the dock in a country which calls itself the bulwark of freedom of conscience and human rights.

So what is the heresy imputed to the eleven defendants, among them a nun and Catholic and Protestant priests? They have been charged with sheltering Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees, who had been incautious enough to seek refuge in U.S. houses of worship. The indictment is set out in detail in papers supplied by the FBI, which instigated the hearing. The accused are charged on 71 counts which can be summed up as follows: Rev. John Fife of Tucson, Arizona, and "an ecumenical group of ten others" conspired to shelter Central American aliens. Similar offences have been committed by priests of 270 churches in the U.S., who have sheltered about 3,000 political refugees fleeing the terror of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan regimes. All the offenders are involved in one way or another in a "criminal organization" calling itself Sanctuary, whose membership already includes religious bodies in 33 states.

Such are the FBI's conclusions. The methods used by the law enforcers to obtain evidence are equally symptomatic. Police informers were planted in Catholic, Protestant, Quaker and Baptist communities and tape recordings of conversations and sermons made by covert FBI agents were presented in court. The judges for their part decided that the tapes were evidence of opposition to U.S. activities in Central America. And though such evidence is not admissible in court, the government has stated that it will continue to use informers to monitor services and religious gatherings.

"We are facing jail, but they are the ones facing torture and murder," Jim Corbett, a Quaker, said explaining his disagreement with the authorities. Below: John Fife and the Corbetts with the refugees.

Photo from Time (U.S.A.)

Shortly afterwards, the U.S. secret services, seeking the culprits in the Sanctuary affair, mounted operations outside the United States. The Salvadoran security service arrested members of a grass-roots religious community, amongst them Pedro Nile Guevara Urquizo, 63, his wife and their 18-year-old son. They were charged with possessing firearms, which a three-hour search failed to unearth, and being politically active—because the woman had a black dress "like the ones worn by mothers of missing persons." All three were interrogated, beaten up and taken away. International public organizations have recorded the incident.

The methods, it is clear, are virtually identical, the only difference being that believers in El Salvador are charged with opposing the regime and believers in the U.S. with helping victims of that regime. In other words, the U.S. Administration uses strong-arm methods to uphold terrorist regimes. So state terrorism is on the march—and the trial of the eleven people in Tucson is fresh evidence of the fact.

The Russian Orthodox Church, its clergy and believers have addressed a statement to the U.S. President: "We consider it our religious duty, rooted in the moral and ethical principles of Christianity, to voice solidarity with those activists of U.S. churches who have unlawfully been brought to trial, to uphold their rights and freedoms and to demand an end to the prosecution of members of, and participants in, the ecumenical movement Sanctuary."

It is, perhaps, as a response to this statement that the Arizona court has passed over in silence the fact that the movement now being tried by the Establishment came into being in the parish of defendant John Fife in 1982, on the second anniversary of the assassination of Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador, and that it quickly won broad support amongst U.S. religious communities. Or that it gives asylum to victims of terror on religious grounds and is popular both in the U.S. and outside it. Or that the movement won support from the U.S. National Council of Churches in November 1984 and from the international affairs commission of the World Council of Churches at its meeting in Veldhoven, Netherlands, in early 1985. Or that it is supported by millions of believers of all denominations in a number of countries.

Here is another document.

"The noble and courageous stand of the clergymen participating in the well-known church movement Sanctuary excites approbation and wonder," Archbishop Khrizostom of Irkutsk says in a telegram to the U.S. President. "They are charged with giving shelter to people who have been made homeless and forced to flee their countries because of persecution and threat to life. Displaying courage and humanity, clergymen have challenged the policy of state terrorism pursued by you, Mr President, and by your Administration in Central America. That is why they have been harassed and put on trial in the country in which human rights are a favourite subject."

Few in Washington have read this telegram. It could be put down to mere coincidence that at about the same time President Reagan, addressing the anniversary session of the U.N. General Assembly, claimed that the United States was a democratic country ruled by the people. We do not set up a police system to silence people, the President told the world. As he spoke, clergymen, citizens of free America, were being silenced in Arizona.

The trial continues.

I spoke the other day with Metropolitan Nikodim of Lvov and Ternopol. He had spent almost 14 years in Latin America as an envoy of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"I have first-hand knowledge of the urgent problems facing the Latin American peoples," the Metropolitan said. "All people want there is to be masters of their natural resources and of the fruits of their labour. I talked to President Maurice Bishop of Grenada. He was very enthusiastic about the burgeoning of a new life on the island. And the prestige the President enjoyed! Then he was killed and freedom was trampled by U.S. troops. Is this democracy? Is this human rights: being a calf under Washington's knife? Now clergymen the world over are protesting against the trial in Tucson. Why do they torment people?"

"Ask the U.S. President."

"Can I? If these words reach you, Mr President, simply consider that in your country, which is so fond of talking about freedom and human rights, priests have been brought to trial for human sympathy with their persecuted brothers in Latin America. Even in the Middle Ages with their brutal laws, people who sought asylum in churches could hope to save their lives. And you talk about human rights in America! There is no human law which can forbid a man to sympathize with his fellow man in his daily need or display Christian charity."

Meanwhile, the defendants have been prohibited by the court from citing religious conviction as a motive for their actions. This means that they have in effect been forbidden to defend themselves, to criticize U.S. policy in Central America and to remain Christians.

The trial continues and a verdict will be returned shortly. Even today the defendants could face the prospect of years in prison and huge fines. But if a verdict of guilty is returned, the clergymen will officially be found guilty only of opposing the terror of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran authorities, which are in Washington's good books.

There is another noteworthy circumstance: while the trial continues, U.S. propaganda has begun a regrouping: it is, perhaps, to help out the Federal judge and jurors that local newspapers have been bristling with stereotyped tales of "similar breaches of the law" in the Soviet Union and the "persecution of people for their convictions in the U.S.S.R."

It should be remembered that Article 38 of the Soviet Constitution reads: "The U.S.S.R. grants the right of asylum to foreigners persecuted for defending the interests of the working people and the cause of peace, or for participation in the revolutionary and national liberation movement, or for progressive social and political, scientific or other creative activity." I have quoted verbatim to compare this provision with a relevant article, if any, in the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. has the 1980 Refugee Act, which declares that persons with "a well-founded fear of persecution" should be granted refugee status. The Arizona court, which is now dispensing justice, would do well to refer to that legislation. There are substantial grounds: the number of people killed in Guatemala has already reached 100,000 and there are about 35,000 persons missing. Several Guatemalans who have tried to provide help to families of missing persons have been brutally killed. El Salvador today presents an equally grim picture: death squads have already taken more than 50,000 lives. According to statistics, about 400 people die every month under the present regime. Villages are razed with bombs and napalm and shelled by artillery. The U.S. has given the blood-stained regime $529 million worth of military aid during the past five years.

Those who take life are encouraged and condoned. Those who seek to preserve it are prosecuted. And this in the land of democracy and equal opportunity.

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Success abroad
and problems at home

AUTOMOBILES AND ROADS

From Our Own Correspondent
YURI TAVROVSKY

Compact, reliable and economical cars are as much a symbol of today's Japan as "ironclads on wheels" hurtling into the distance were a symbol of America some 20 years ago. The names of the car giants Toyota, Nissan, and Honda have been added to words traditionally associated with Japan such as sakura, geisha and kabuki. Not only has the Japanese car industry boom caused bewilderment and anger in the U.S., the F.R.G., France and Italy, the traditional trend-setters in the field; cars have also changed the very structure of the economy and way of life on the Japanese Islands.

He Who Laughs Last

Looking at the fleets of varicoloured cars, lorries and buses rushing from traffic lights to traffic lights, from one jam to another, it is hard to imagine that Japan entered the automobile age only some 30 years ago.

The first car appeared there at the turn of the century. It was brought from abroad as a present to the Emperor. In 1902 a Japanese firm assembled a 12 h.p. car from imported components and it took another five years for the first all-Japanese car to be produced at an establishment grandly named the Tokyo Motor Works. Throughout the first quarter of the century cars remained expensive toys. By 1923 the country had 12,700 cars of which only one in thirteen was Japanese-made.

On September 1, 1923, an earthquake hit Tokyo and dozens of other big cities in the Kanto Valley, destroying almost all houses and roads. There was an acute need for buses and lorries. The vacuum was filled initially by imported vehicles from Ford and General Motors, and then by machines assembled at their factories in the vicinity of Tokyo. In the mid-1930s, when Japan was girding itself for wars of conquest in the Pacific, the government took over the motor industry, orienting it towards the manufacture of lorries.

By the time of Japan's capitulation in World War II the motor industry (like almost all other industries) was virtually nonexistent. American air raids had razed factories to the ground, and many workers and engineers who served in the army had either been killed or taken prisoner. Acute shortages of fuel and other raw materials led to a ban on the manufacture of motor vehicles. In 1946 a few lorries were allowed to be produced, and in 1947, 300 cars. The restrictions were not lifted until 1949. Just as after the 1923 earthquake, the war-ravaged country needed lorries and buses. By 1955 their output had reached 50,000 and 5,000 respectively. In the same year 20,000 cars were produced.

It is not by chance that 1955 is considered the beginning of the automobile age. It was then that the Japanese engineering industry absorbed billions in American military orders placed during the Korean war. Motor works were able to buy new equipment and technology. The demand for cars rocketed. By 1970 their output had reached 3.2 million a year.

Despite these spectacular successes, a mood of complacency reigned in Detroit, the U.S. automobile capital. Indeed, Japanese cars were often an object of ridicule for competitors. In the early sixties the popular humorous magazine Mad carried an imaginary account of tests on a new "micro-mini-midget-zero" model (a reference to the Japanese Zero fighter planes that gave American pilots a lot of trouble during the war in the Pacific): it took the car "just" one year to cross the United States; it didn't burn a drop of gas thanks to an improved clockwork motor first tested on children's tricycles; the highest praise should go to the convenient and cheerful dashboard whose only drawback is that it is drawn on a piece of cardboard.

But, as the saying goes, he who laughs last laughs longest. Today Japanese firms sell about 2 million cars in the U.S. every year. And they are gaining ground on the Americans in those markets that used to be considered havens for U.S. corporations.

In 1982 Japan exported 710,000 cars to the Middle East, 520,000 to Southeast Asia, 400,000 to Oceania, 290,000 to Africa, and 240,000 to Latin America. Western Europe bought 1.1 million Japanese cars. All in all, exports amounted to 7 million cars. No wonder five Japanese firms are on the list of the world's top car producers. Toyota ranks second, just behind General Motors, Nissan is third, Matsuda ninth, Honda tenth, Mitsubishi eleventh, and Suzuki fifteenth.

Art on the Assembly Line

What is the secret of their success? Hundreds of specialists in the West have been trying to answer that question. Some compare the Japanese car invasion with the attack on Pearl Harbor. Some have introduced Japanese-style "quality-control groups" at their enterprises, and are training workers in mental concentration techniques along Zen Buddhist lines.

Much of the credit for the success of Toyota, Nissan and other car giants must be attributed to a blend of historical, cultural and national features of

Japan with modern capitalist production. Successful use is being made of traditional patterns of behaviour based on the "senior-junior", "boss-subordinate," "all workers are one family" principles which survive from the feudal past—a reality in Japan only a century ago. Toyota is an assembly line that produces not only 31 makes of car, but also families—young men and women employees are encouraged to enter into marriages blessed by the firm which pays part of the bill for the costly wedding. The car giants can well afford to set aside part of their profits to increase wages and benefits to their employees and build houses, clubs and sporting facilities. The beneficiaries are constantly reminded of their extraordinary good luck in working for a big firm and of their moral duty to their employers.

Another national Japanese trait that has been successfully exploited is a yen to belong and fear of being an outcast, of isolation. Even the perfectionism that has developed over the centuries is being put to use. Workers are told that welding car bodies, assembling units and manufacturing components is just as much of an art as calligraphy, the growing of bonsai (dwarf trees), or swordsmanship. To make a mess of one's job or do shoddy work means "loss of face," a disgrace.

This is all very well, but don't America, Italy, France and other countries have characteristics of their own that can be used to improve production?

One is inclined to agree with those who see the "motor miracle" as part of Japan's "economic miracle" of the 1960s and 1970s brought about by the cushioned conditions in which Japan's economy was developing at the time. Incomparably smaller military expenditures than in other leading industrialized countries enabled Japan to invest in the most profitable industries, especially car manufacture. The Japanese shopped around the world for the best technology and mastered the best managerial methods. Hundreds of Japanese engineers, notebooks in hand, filled the workshops and designing offices of the American car giants, diligently taking down the condescending lectures of their more experienced mentors. Meanwhile thousands of their colleagues, many of whom had cut their engineering teeth making military hardware during the war, were designing new car models. It fell to them to "torpedo" the seemingly unsinkable ironclads produced by West European and American car companies and, in the process, demonstrate that good pupils could surpass their teachers.

Riding the Crest of the Oil Shock Wave

In looking for explanations to Japan's "motor miracle" one must say that the situation which took shape in the early 1970s favoured the car companies. Cuts in oil supplies in 1973 and growing fuel prices forced the manufacturers of uneconomical cars to adjust to the changed conditions and start developing new models. Meanwhile consumers did not want to and could not wait. And then the Japanese came along and offered a whole range of cheap and economical cars that existed in metal, and not on the drawing boards.

To be sure, the captains of the Japanese car industry could not have foreseen "the oil shock" or prepared for it. They were simply lucky because fuel-saving had always been a top priority in Japanese car manufacture. Even before 1973 petrol in Japan cost three times more than in the U.S. and twice as much as in Western Europe. That is why only economical models had any chance at all. Also, Japan was faced with the need to reduce air pollution from car fumes earlier than the United States. The ecological crisis of the late 1960s and early 1970s triggered a powerful public movement that forced the government to introduce stringent anti-pollution legislation.

Other features of the domestic market that deserve mention are: cheaper cars due to the lower incomes of the population compared with the U.S. and Western Europe; high cross-country capacity and sturdiness of cars designed to meet the relatively poor state of Japanese roads, especially in the 1950s and 1960s; the small size of cars intended for driving in narrow medieval streets and being parked in lots where one square metre sometimes costs more than the car itself. No wonder exports of Japanese cars rocketed from a million in 1970 to 6 million ten years later. Japan has been the biggest car exporter in the world since 1974.

The auto industry is often described as the wheels on which Japan Inc. (i.e., the Japanese economic machine) runs. One in ten workers is directly or indirectly involved in the manufacture or servicing of cars. Japan accounts for almost one third of world automobile output. Since 1980, however, the "wheels" have been running less smoothly. Car output has begun to taper off. Sales on the domestic market have stopped growing and exports dropped. The car industry has been affected by the general economic stagnation in Japan and other capitalist countries. Faced with the threat of countermeasures against the Japanese car invasion, in 1981 car firms had to introduce "voluntary" quotas on their exports to the U.S., Canada, Western Europe, South Korea and Taiwan.

The car industry's policy makers felt the winds of change and set about rerigging their sails. In the early 1960s they began building assembly plants in Southeast Asia, Oceania and Africa. In the 1970s, they began building such plants in Europe and America. Today Toyota alone owns 27 plants in 19 countries. These manoeuvres, along with allowing rival firms to buy into Japanese ones (General Motors bought 34 per cent of the shares of Isuzu, Chrysler, 15 per cent of Mitsubishi Motors, and Ford 24 per cent of Matsuda), and agreements on cooperation in production and marketing helped to dampen criticism abroad. And yet the leaders of the car industry are pessimistic. At best they hope to prevent a further slump in production and exports and weather the storm without losing the command heights in world car building; at worst they hope to compensate for the drop in exports by expanding sales on the domestic market.

Time will show whether this scenario will be successful. As for the domestic market, it is not just saturated but oversaturated. The automobilization that got under way in Japan in the mid-1950s became something of an epidemic in the next decade. With soaring economic growth and the rapidly increasing incomes of the recently half-starving population, owning a car, a colour TV set, and an air conditioner were status symbols indicating that one belonged to the middle class.

Castle on Wheels

The origin of this typical consumer society formula will be clear from the fact that the very names of these three status items have been borrowed from American English: "car," "colour TV," and "cooler." And the motto of "keeping up with the Satos" is a Japanese equivalent of "keeping up with the Joneses." The only thing that is Japanese about it is the choice of the items. Their acquisition was designed to stimulate those industries that were given top priority by Big Business policy makers. Besides, these three

Collage by A. Garanin

items were within reach, something that could not be said of a decent dwelling, a fantastically expensive thing in Japan.

Now almost every family owns a colour TV, two thirds of all families own a car, and about one half own an air conditioner. This gives a pleasant feeling of belonging to the "middle class," diminishes discontent with growing taxes, unemployment and falling real incomes. Although many Japanese admit that their dwellings are "rabbit hutches" they seem to be less worried about it. An apartment is not on their list of status symbols, and then they know that the Satos live in a "rabbit hutch" like their own. It is not by chance that the Japanese equivalent of the English "my home is my castle" is "my car is my castle."

A typical car owner—a worker or office employee, middle-aged, head of a family—owns or rents a small flat in an apartment block in a suburb of a large industrial centre. He uses his "castle on wheels" almost exclusively on Sundays and on the few holidays. On weekdays he spends two or three hours in the commuter train, underground, or bus. Travelling this way is cheaper and faster. But on days off the whole family get into their gleaming car and drive to town to visit friends or to shop.

Owning a car is for many almost the only means of self-expression in a life that is increasingly standardized, reduced to a recurring sequence of operations to ensure continued existence. Aggressive advertizing which promotes roaring cars by serving them along with the smiling faces of Alain Delon or Paul Newman or home-grown screen and sports stars also plays its part. As a result even people who can ill afford it try to buy a car. They borrow from the spawning tribe of moneylenders and are involved in an endless chain of interest and interest on interest. Increasingly frequently newspapers write about whole debtor families who commit suicide by inhaling exhaust fumes or steering their car off a cliff into the sea.

The drama of these people is symbolic of the sacrifices the country makes on the altar of the consumer society. A leading bourgeois newspaper, Asahi, wrote: "Of course we have gained a good deal. But we have lost something very valuable.... It looks as if we are parting with the sense of justice and artistic perception, spiritual refinement."

Oversaturation with cars changes not only the mode of life and the mentality of the Japanese. There is a growing shortage of roads without which a car is just a heap of metal. There are 91 cars for every kilometre of paved roads, and 13 metres of decent roads for every car. In practice, the length of road per car, especially in large cities, is the length of the car itself

You have to get up early in the morning to cover the four kilometres from the magazine's office to the Soviet embassy in Tokyo in 15 minutes. In the daytime the trip takes 20-25 minutes Passing a couple of traffic lights without stopping is a piece of luck. Not getting caught in a traffic jam is rare.

Traffic Jams Here Too

The capital has its highway fanning out in nine directions from the semicircle that skirts the Emperor's Palace and parks. Freeways began to be built on the eve of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Since then concrete troughs resting on ten-metre pylons have become an inseparable if unattractive part of the cityscape. The significance of the 158-kilometre highway for the city is hard to overestimate. By paying 400 yen (one dollar equals 200 yen) or 800 yen for lorries and buses, the motorist becomes part of the two-lane flow of traffic moving in one direction. There are practically no traffic lights and the speed limit is 60 kilometres per hour, not 40 as in an ordinary street down below. In reality motorists break the speed limit driving at 100 k.p.h. and more or crawl along at 5 k.p.h.

But even this fine road is not free of traffic jams. Your heart misses a beat as you approach another electronic panel reporting on the state of the traffic ahead. When the fateful Japanese characters signifying "traffic jam" and a figure (sometimes two-digit) signifying its length flash onto the

screen the best advice you can follow is "brake, relax, switch on the radio."

Several lines of the Tokyo highway fan out beyond the capital's limits into national high-speed roads.

Entering such a road at a checkpoint you get a card marking your entry which entitles you to use not only the road, but also the roadside cafés, canteens, filling stations and emergency telephones. Lay-bys situated in picturesque spots provide drivers and passengers not only with parking space but cheap lunches, soft drinks and road maps. At a filling station you get free service: your car is washed, tyres are pumped, battery checked, and small repairs are made.

But the speedways have their disadvantages. Chief of these is the cost of using them. Before turning off the highway the driver presents his card. The attendant puts the card into a computer and tells you the cost of your drive. A 500-kilometre drive from Tokyo to Kyoto costs 6,000 yen, not to speak of the 10,000 yen and more for petrol.

Another problem is road jams. There are fewer of them than in the cities, but once you are caught in one you spend much more time in it. They are due to bad accidents caused by reckless or tired drivers, landslides in mountain areas, typhoons, earthquakes, snow drifts and flooding. And, of course, the high concentration of cars.

With government finances in crisis, all expenditure except military is being slashed. Among the main victims is the roadbuilding programme which Big Business wants the government to offer on the altar of "administrative reform."

The Motorist's Ordeal

Drivers and traffic police have always been on opposite sides of the barricades. Still, motorists admit that without the blue-uniformed motorcyclists, the stern women traffic controllers in pilots' caps and the sullen-looking drivers of black-and-white traffic patrol cars chaos would reign supreme on Japanese roads.

The policeman's vigilant eye follows you at every instant. Punishment can overtake the offender at any moment. And you can be punished more than once for the same offence. To begin with, you pay a heavy fine for each of the 60 types of infringement. For example, exceeding the speed limit by 25 kilometres an hour costs a motorist 10,000 yen, by 15 kilometres, 6,000 yen. Shooting the red light costs 6,000 yen, overloading the car, 5,000-8,000, obstructing pedestrians on a crossing, 5,000-6,000 yen. Driving conditions in Tokyo being what they are, even the most disciplined driver annually pays a considerable sum in fines.

But punishments are not confined to fines. The offender is punished by penalty points. It is enough to get 6-14 points in three years to have your driving licence suspended for a few weeks. With 15-24 points you are liable to a year's disqualification, 25-34 points, two years', and over 35 points, three years'.

And, of course, serious offences involving injury or death are punished with imprisonment. There are eight specialized prisons for offending motorists in Japan. The biggest of them is near Tokyo. Every day in these institutions begins and ends with a ceremony before a monument to victims of road accidents. "We ask forgiveness for what we have done," the inmates chant in chorus. "We swear never to commit such errors again." The time between the two ceremonies the inmates spend in prison workshops, attending lectures on traffic regulations and going through the motoring school training programme.

Order on the roads depends greatly on the diligence and strictness of those whose job it is to preserve it. But the behaviour of the drivers themselves is also important. The majority of Japanese drivers are polite, civil and disciplined people. Good manners apply, for example, when two streams of cars meet. A queue is established at once letting cars from the two streams pass one by one. Changing lanes, it is enough to flash the indicator light or at least wave your hand. You will not have to wait long. Mutual politeness and help among drivers is particularly valuable at critical moments. Once when I was stuck on an intersection because of a faulty battery I inadvertently caused a traffic jam because several drivers stopped at once to inquire what the trouble was and whether they could help. A policeman who materialized out of thin air led volunteers in pushing the car to a safe place, then summoned road service before uttering the traditional "Your licence, please."

Despite the building of new high-speed roads, a succession of Safe Driving weeks and months, closer watch on drivers and the extraordinary politeness of most motorists, driving on Japanese roads is becoming an ordeal. Shrines do a roaring trade in various talismans and amulets and sacred bumper stickers that "guarantee" road safety. The number of traffic jams and deaths in road accidents grows from year to year. Crisis on the roads is becoming as much a Japanese symbol as comfortable and economical Japanese cars.

Tokyo

NEW TIMES AWARDS

New Times awards for the best materials published in the magazine during 1985 have been made to B. Asoyan, V. Boikov, O. Fomin, Y. Golovanov, V. Gusenkov, E. Khaldei, V. Kuznetsov, L. Medvedko, G. Ryabov, N. Safronova, L. Semeiko, N. Shishlin, A. Urnov, G. Ustinov, N. Yakovlev and V. Zagladin.

The editors would like to express their appreciation of the contributions made to the magazine in 1985 by R. Andreasyan, L. Bogdanovich, M. Burlakov, E. Chazov, N. Evgenyev, I. Frolov, V. Kazakov, G. Khozin, D. Khrenkov, Y. Kuzmichov, V. Lomeiko, V. Morozov, Y. Nagibin, G. Shakhnazarov, Y. Shiryayev and V. Shubin.

TAKING UP A POINT

Soviet leaders have recently declared themselves to be in favour of promoting economic, scientific and technological links between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Doesn't this show that the Soviet Union has fallen far behind the United States, especially in the field of science and engineering, and seeks to rectify the situation by securing American credits and access to the latest technology?

Michael COLLINS
New York, U.S.A.

NIKOLAI PETROV, D.Sc. (Econ.), replies:

The writer of the above letter is not alone in taking this view. Even American officials often try to create the impression that the U.S. is doing the Soviet Union a tremendous favour by maintaining trade, economic, scientific, and technological links with it.

The call to promote trade, economic, scientific and technological links between the U.S.S.R. and capitalist powers, the U.S. included, is not a new development in the Soviet leadership's policy. Nor is it prompted by any time-serving considerations. In the early twenties Lenin, the first leader of the Soviet state, said the need for economic cooperation between the different socio-economic systems was due to the indisputable fact that they each constituted an integral part of the world economy which cannot function normally without strong and diverse links between them. Lenin regarded the development of trade and economic relations as "an economic and political argument against war."

Now, 65 years on, the arguments in favour of the development of Soviet-American economic relations hold good. This is to be expected because the main principle of Soviet foreign policy —the principle of peaceful coexistence —remains unchanged. "In this dangerous world of ours we simply cannot, have no right to, ignore such a stabilizer of relations as trade, economic, scientific and technological links," Mikhail Gorbachev told American businessmen in December. "If we want really stable and durable relations capable of ensuring a lasting peace, they should rest, amongst other things, on developed business relations."

The U.S.S.R. is a mighty industrial power which has not only overcome, over a historically short period, the economic backwardness inherited from tsarism, but has come to lead the world in many spheres of industrial production and technology. And this despite the two destructive wars it has lived through. Today the U.S.S.R. is second only to the U.S. in volume of industrial output. But see how the gap is closing. Soviet industrial output constituted less than 30 per cent of the U.S. figure in 1950; 55 per cent in 1960; over 75 per cent in 1970; and in excess of 80 per cent in 1984.

The well-known fact that the Soviet Union has attained military-strategic parity with the U.S. speaks for itself. It hardly takes expert knowledge to see that we wouldn't have been able to do this without advanced technology. Nevertheless, readers have certainly read and heard, on many occasions, assertions to the effect that the U.S.S.R. owes its defence potential to imported Western technology.

Let me remind you of some of the Soviet Union's efforts on the frontiers of research. It was our country that evolved the theoretical principles of rocketry and accomplished the first manned space mission. Soviet scientists have made an enormous contribution to the development of the chain reaction, light and radiowave theories and the invention of the laser. Modern aerodynamics, low-temperature and high-pressure physics and almost all the manufacturing techniques employed in the modern metallurgical industry are inconceivable without vital discoveries made by Soviet scientists in these fields. These discoveries and techniques are widely used in the U.S. and other capitalist countries.

Do we lag behind in high technology at present? In certain respects we do, but the same is true of other countries, including Japan and the U.S., because present standards of science and engineering being what they are, it is simply impossible—and hardly expedient—to keep the lead right across the board.

The Soviet Union is now entering a qualitatively new stage in its development marked by speeding up the rates of socio-economic transformation through the intensive introduction of the latest in science and technology. Towards the year 2000 we plan almost to double our national income, increase labour productivity 2.3-2.5 times and raise real per capita incomes 1.6-1.8 times over. Obviously, it is only a state that is absolutely confident of its power that can set itself such ambitious objectives. We invite other countries, the U.S. included, to avail themselves of the opportunities that present themselves for broadening trade, economic, scientific and technological exchanges with us.

At the same time, the Soviet leadership has made it perfectly clear that there will be no normal large-scale development of bilateral trade or other economic ties until the U.S. removes the barriers it has set in their way—meaning primarily Washington's refusal to grant the Soviet Union the most-favoured-nation treatment already enjoyed by about 120 countries in selling their products to the United States. Soviet buyers are refused credits to buy American goods. The so-called "export control" amounts to banning the export of many items to the Soviet Union. Boycotts, embargoes and trade contract violations have become common U.S. practice in recent years.

If all these obstacles of a predominantly political nature were removed, Soviet-American trade and economic relations could make good progress. We are prepared to undertake major long-term joint projects and do business with U.S. companies at all levels. Given good will on the part of the U.S. and a reliable political and contractual basis on which to promote our trade and economic relations, we shall have plenty to sell to, and buy from, the United States to the mutual benefit of both sides.

■

POSTSCRIPT

Staying Put

Under the Chilean "constitution" concocted by Pinochet's henchmen in 1980 the military junta is to turn over the power to an elected government in 1989. The candidate for the post of President is to be nominated unanimously by the commanders of the three arms of the service and the carbinier corps—all of them, incidentally, appointed by the junta chief himself. If nevertheless no unanimity is reached, the matter of a presidential candidate is turned over to the council for national security, whose members are also Pinochet appointees. The system would appear to be foolproof. Yet the junta boss does not feel quite secure. Not long ago he publicly announced that under all circumstances he proposes to remain in power after 1989.

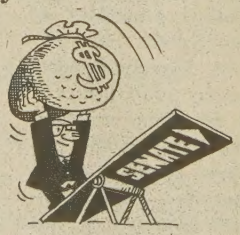
Really So Safe?

Beginning with 1986 a course in how to make a nuclear bomb will be offered students of New Haven University (Conn., U.S.A.), according to an Associated Press report. Professor Richard Morrison, who intends to conduct the course, says he is not concerned that any of his students will actually be able to make a bomb because plutonium and uranium 235, necessary ingredients for an atomic bomb, "are federally regulated." In this connection people recall the recent report in the U.S. press that about 10,000 pounds of plutonium and enriched uranium disappeared from U.S. stocks. A startling piece of news, considering that 15 lbs of the material is enough to make one bomb.

Cast-Off Pets

Stray dogs have become a real menace in France, the Brussels newspaper Le Soir says. About 400,000 cats and dogs are left homeless every year (mainly during the summer holiday season). And every year stray dogs kill some 100,000 sheep, not counting other domestic animals and fowl.

Costly



According to a Federal commission report, campaign costs for contenders for seats in the U.S. Congress during the 1984 elections totalled $374 million. This is nearly three times the figure for the 1976 elections. The cost of a seat in the House of Representatives is $288,000 on the average. A seat in the Senate costs much more—close to $3 million. On the average of course. And ultra-Right Senator Helms of North Carolina forked out $16.5 million to retain his seat.

Women Only

The first factory to employ women exclusively is being built in Saudi Arabia, Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) says. The only men employed in this factory producing radio equipment will be in the management, but their orders will be relayed to the workshops by video-monitors and loudspeakers. This is not a matter of discrimination—simply men and women in Saudi Arabia are forbidden to work together.

Still Going Strong

Konrad Kujau did not make a fortune out of the bogus Hitler "diaries" he peddled to the Stern magazine (F.R.G.). The one-time dealer in nazi paraphernalia with a criminal record was sent to jail for that scandalous deception. But the trial was barely over before the irrepressible forger began to make some money on the exposed fraud. According to the newspaper Unsere Zeit, he has prepared a radio programme entitled "News from the Jolly Forger" and recorded a disc saying "I impersonated the Fuehrer," and plans to translate it into foreign languages.

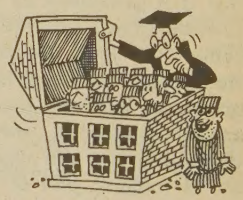
"Star Wars" Publicity

To boost the popularity of the "star wars" programme both in the U.S. proper and in the countries of the Western alliance, the Reagan Administration is forever assuring all and sundry that the development of the programme is proceeding "at an incredible pace." Some scientists, the New York Times says, do not know how to cope with this government campaign of misinformation. Why? Roy Kidder, a physicist employed at a laboratory at Livermore where research on SDI is under way, answers that question thus: "The public is getting swindled by one side that has access to classified information and can say whatever it wants and not land in jail, whereas we (the sceptics) can't say whatever we want. We would go to jail."

Fun for Sadists

The most popular exhibit at an exhibition of "brutal art" which opened in an art gallery in Santa Clara, U.S.A., the F.R.G. magazine Stern writes, is an electric chair with a mannequin on it. A coin in the slot sets the mechanism in motion and the spectator can watch the death convulsions of the human body presented as realistically as if he were present at a bona fide execution. There has been considerable controversy about this "work of art." Many call it entertainment for sadists.

No Room



Petty thieves and con men in Holland, the Vienna newspaper Die Presse tells us, are only sentenced nowadays to one or another prison term, but they don't serve it. The prisons in that country, it turns out, are overcrowded. So they only accommodate offenders convicted of serious crimes of violence.

Drawings by V. Trinchenko

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ROME, THE TREVI FOUNTAIN

A dozen or so steps lead to it from the small, old-world hotel. But to descend to the crystal-clear water and stand alone in admiration before its stone figures, the chaotic mass of statuary before the façade of the palazzo, or to walk around the little square on which it stands is something that can only be done in the early morning or late at night. Because during the day the place is packed with sightseers. The Trevi is perhaps the most beautiful fountain in the Eternal City. And if you want to come back you must drop a coin into the water.

A Muscovite visiting Rome often finds himself thinking of the threads that connect his own capital with the city on the Tiber. For here that connection is almost tangibly felt. One such thread stretches across frontiers and years thanks to gifted Russian woman Zinaida Volkonskaya.

The Countess Volkonskaya, founder of the famous literary salon on the Tver Street in Moscow, where in the 1820s the cream of Russia's intelligentsia were wont to gather, where Pushkin read his poems and Mickiewicz improvised, left Russia in 1829. She left her native land under compulsion. After the defeat of the December uprising in 1825, there began a wave of repression which affected some of the Countess's relatives. Her husband's brother, Sergei Volkonsky, a prominent aristocrat revolutionary, was banished to Siberia. His wife Maria Volkonskaya soon followed him. It was in the Countess's house that her friends gathered to bid her farewell.

The Countess herself was hardly persona grata with the government, and Emperor Nicholas I was known to dislike her personally. Her Moscow salon was considered the "centre of all the discontented."

Zinaida Volkonskaya lived for more than 30 years in Rome. Her salon in the Palazzo Poli, beside the Trevi Fountain, where she spent the winters and at the villa in the park near the basilica San Giovanni in Laterano became a focal point of intellectual intercourse between Russia and Western Europe. Many distinguished Russian writers, poets, artists and composers—Zhukovsky, Glinka, Kiprensky, Bryullov, Ivanov—met there.

A frequent guest was Nikolai Gogol who said that "coming to Rome was like coming home." He lived here nearly three and a half years in all, working on his famous poem "Dead Souls," studying Italian art and admiring the beauty of the Eternal City, which he described so vividly in his story "Rome."

Albert PIN
Photos by author

THE WORLD IN PICTURES